

# WARRS

WITH  
Forreign PRINCES

Dangerous to our  
Common-Wealth :

OR,  
*Reasons for Forreign Wars*  
ANSWERED.

WITH  
A List of all the Confederates from  
Henry the firsts Reign to the end  
of Queen ELIZABETH.

PROVING,  
*That the Kings of England*  
*alwayes preferred Unjust PEACE,*  
*before the Justest WARRE.*

---

LONDON;  
Printed for William Shears in Westmin-  
ster-hall, 1657.

---

R

Printed for William Storer in  
London, 1837.

Printed for William Storer in  
London, 1837.





PROPOSITIONS  
OF  
WARRE and PEACE

Delivered to his Highness  
PRINCE HENRY  
by some of his Military servants.

---

*Arguments for Warre.*

**E** Rames of Policy, as well as works of Nature, <sup>a</sup>are best preserved from the same grounds they were first founded on. By *Armes* was layd the foundation of this State, whether we respect the *Saxon* or the *Norman*. It was Warre that of seven Crowns in the *Heptarchy* made one fit for that *Monarchy*, that since by many glorious exploits hath made good in forreign parts the renown of her own greatness, and crowned thereby this State with an eternall peace. Times nor our owne vertues are not changed: Necessity, Benefit, and Facility of Warre being the same that they were before to our forefathers.

*a Pausa et Hist-  
tiii consilium  
Casari.*

E

We

23/9/12

## Reasons for forraign wars.

a Velleius  
Paterculus.

{ Reasons of  
forraign  
War drawn  
from

1. Necessity, for

1 Preser-  
vation of  
our own  
peace.

2 Venting  
of factious  
spirits.

We never were so near peril by shipwrack in any tempest abroad, as at home by the calm government of *Henry* the sixth. For *France* by the awfull hand of his father reduced, it fared with us as with the mistress of the world, a *Remoto Carthaginis metu, et Imperii amula*, when the fear of *Carthage* her competitor for the Empire was removed, that fell not by degrees, but *Præcipiti cursu ab Armis ad voluptates, à negotio ad otium*, rushed headlong from arms to pleasures, from employment to idleness. And from hence all greatest Nations, *cū ab externis causis tutæ videntur, ipsæ suis viribus onerantur*, when there is no longer fear of forreign enemies, their own strength become a burthen to them: so after many conquests abroad, we were at home prest down with the unnatural weight of civil armes: For *cum foris non habent hostem domi inveniunt*, when people have no enemies abroad, they find some at home; as all warlike & fruitful Nations will, not otherwise delivered either of the humours or people. To add to this necessity, the sending away our factious spirits, it will remove the seat of bloud from our own door.

# Reasons for forraign wars.

3

doors, and prove the cheapest school to train up in armes the better dispositions, whose military skil may after serve to defend the State; and by the late accession of another Nation will be now more needful, <sup>a</sup>*Ne novus populus oris et nimia pecunia lasciviret*, lest that other people should grow wanton through too much wealth and idlenesse, and we in the end be enforced with the Satyrists to confesse

*Nunc patimur longa pacis mala, savior armis*

*Luxuria inabus.*

We suffer now the harm of a long peace,

Whilst Riot, worse then war, doth thus increase,

The benefis arise from Profit and Honour. The Spoils we have brought away in our French & Spanish attempts exceeding ever the charge in getting; and the Revenues of the subjected Signiories, as Normandy, Aquitain, &c. supporting with much advantage the expence in keeping: Our Honour, as the Stile of our Kings, by confluence of so many Titles increased; and by accession of so many territories as we held in France, our dominions and liberties so far enlarged.

3 Instructing in arms our people;

1 Necessary, for

Reasons of forraign Warre drawn from

1 Wealth, by

2 Benefits.

2 Honour, by addition of

1 Spoil of the Enemy.

2 Addition of Revenue by subjected territories.

1 Title.

2 Dominion.

Reasons of  
forraign  
War drawn  
from

3 A more facility  
to effect then  
heretofore, by

1 Addition  
of new  
strength.  
2 Substra-  
ction of di-  
versions.

The facility to effect this  
being now more then ever  
by the addition of strength,  
and subtraction of diver-  
sions, in this happy union  
of the *Britain Empire*.



A N A N S W E R  
TO THE  
F O R M E R  
Arguments made by the command  
OF HIS  
H I G H N E S S E.

**A**S he can give best Rules to pre-  
serve the health of a body naturall,  
that by observing the divers humours,  
accidents and dispositions thereof,  
findeth at length the cause from  
whence it is or well or ill-affected, and so by  
mixture of Art and Observation sets to his Pa-  
tient rules of exercise and dyet: so is it in a  
Kingdome or Commonwealth. If then out of the  
Registers of Record and Story, the true Remem-  
brancers of Art and Errour in passages of State,  
it shall appear that those times which have been  
glori-

1 Affections  
of our wisest  
Princes ever  
to peace.

1 Rebellions  
at home.

2 Forraign expeditions

2 Cause of

1 Endless  
taxations

2 Vassa-  
lage.

3 Danger  
to the  
State.

3 Confe-  
deracy &  
alliance  
the means  
of former  
victories,  
no waies  
to be re-  
stored as  
hereto-  
fore.

glorified with the mightiest  
Princes and wisest Councells,  
would ever acknowledge that  
<sup>a</sup>*Pax una triumphis Innume-<sup>a Sil. Ital.</sup>*  
*ris potior*; one Peace outgoes <sup>lib. II.</sup>  
for worth Innumerable tri-  
umphs; That Combustions at  
home were like Meteors, ever  
kindled in another Region,  
but spent themselves there;  
That our men instead of *Law-  
rell* and *Olive garlands* to a-  
dorn with victory & peace our  
gates and Temples, have ever  
brought home fire-balls to  
burn our Cities; That for-  
reign spoys have been sum-  
med up with *Taxes* and *Pe-  
nury*; That this addition of  
*Revenue* hath tyed us to a per-  
petuall issue of our own  
Treasure; That by these titles  
of *Honour* we have bought  
*Slavery*, and by *extenture*  
of *Territories*, Danger; And  
that difficulty either to un-  
dertake or pursue any forreign  
enterprize now is much more  
then in any age before; I  
think that no *Englishman*  
will either love his own er-  
rour so much, or his Country  
so little, as to advise a course  
so far estranged either from  
judgement or security.

Answers to the former Arguments.



Examples of  
the affection  
of our Kings  
succesively  
to Peace.

<sup>a</sup> *Benedictus  
Monachus in  
vita H. 2.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ex Matth.  
Paris pag. 114*

<sup>c</sup> *Rog. Hove-  
den.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ex additam.  
Prosperi A-  
quitania E-  
pisc.*

<sup>e</sup> *Rot. Claus.  
anno secundo  
E. 3 m. II.*

IT is manifest by warrant of our own exam-  
ples, that the kings of *England*, (except in some  
heat of Youth, which is not the best directour of  
Counsell) preferred unjust Peace before the just-  
est War: none inthralling their minds with am-  
bitious desires of extending *Territories*, or imagi-  
nary humours of licentious Sovereignty; every  
one willing to passe his time with content of his  
private fortunes. Upon this ground *Henry* the se-  
cond gave 20000. marks <sup>a</sup> *Expensarum nomine*,  
under the notion of expences, to the *French* king,  
*ut firmior Pax haberetur*, that he might have a  
firm and settled Peace. His succeeding sonne *pro*  
*quieta clamazione de sorore sua ducenda*, for a  
peaceable claim to the marriage of his sister, which  
was like to make a fraction, gave to the *French*  
King <sup>b</sup> *decem millia librarum*, ten thousand  
pounds. Three hundred thousand marks *John*  
gave to the *French* king, to match his calme en-  
trance to a secure peace. Until the confederacy  
with <sup>c</sup> *Scotland*, and invading of the land by  
*Charls de Valoys* the *French* king provoked  
*Edward* the first, he never disquieted *France*  
with noyse of war, as after he did by the <sup>d</sup> *Earls*  
of *Richmond* and *Lancaster*, although *Boniface*  
the Pope incited him thereunto. His Sonne, the  
second *Edward*, anno 20. requireth the *Bishops*  
and *Clergy* to pray and offer alms for him, and  
the people of this State; the words are, <sup>e</sup> *ut Deus*  
*nos regat et dirigat in mundi hujus turbini-*  
*bis*, that God would rule and direct us in the  
troubles of this world; for that having sought all  
means with *France* he could for Peace, *ut Guer-*  
*rarum discrimina vitaret*, that he might avoid  
the dangers of war, he reaped nothing but bitter-  
nesse, and detention of his Messengers, Son, and  
part



part of his *Dutchy of Gascoigne*, his Rebels in-  
 joying all Protection, and his Merchants all In-  
 hospitality, whose ships his enemy *hostiliter ce-  
 pit, et Mercatores interfecit*, took in a hostile  
 sort, and slew the Merchants. The Parliament  
 quinto of Edward 3.<sup>a</sup> was especially called to a  
 consult how Peace might be procured. In his 17. anno 5.E.3.  
 year b the Peers and Commons petition him to n. r.  
 labour a peace with *France*, and to sollicite the b *Ex Rotul.*  
 Pope for mediation. The truce from hence ef- *Parl. anno 17.*  
 fected he would by no meanes violate, but in the E.3.  
 20<sup>th</sup>. year moveth peace by all the offers he c can, c *Ex Rotul.*  
 as *Contracts, Intermariage*, and to take up *Francia an.*  
 the Croffe with *France*, in *succursum Terra* 19.m.10.  
*Sancta*, for succour of the Holy Land. But all he  
 could do could abate no whit of the *French* fury, d *Ex Rot.*  
 who invaded by themselves *Aquitain, England* *Claus. in dor-*  
 by the *Scots*, surprizing in breach of Truce his fo 20. E. 3.  
 Nobility of *Britain*, whom at *Paris ignomi-* m. 16. part. 1. an  
*niosa morti tradidit*, he put to shamefull deaths;  
 there and in *Gascoign* murdering the rest of  
 his Subjects, and rasing his Castles, nor would  
 upon a second mediation admit any way of peace.  
 War then was left his last refuge; c *Et pia Arma* c *Liv. lib. 9.*  
*quibus nulla nisi in Armis spes est*, War is to  
 that man just and lawfull, who hath no hope of  
 help but by war. And this his Clergy was injoy-  
 ned to open in sermons, that he might eschew  
 the infamy of *Christian* blood-shed. In his two  
 and twentieth year finding war to have brought  
 to his people f *gravia onera et multa mala*, f *Rot. Claus.*  
 heavy burthens and many mischiefs, as the Re- *ann. 3. Ed 3.*  
 cord saith, and that the fortune of war *cum*  
*splendet frangitur*, when it shineth clearest is  
 then nearest breaking; he passed over into *France*  
 to seek peace divers times; and to strengthen his

affections with the best hopes, he injoyneeth all  
 a *Dor/. claus.* the Bishops of *England* to offer<sup>a</sup> *devotas pre-*  
*an. 22. E. 3.* *ces suppliciter ad Deum*, humble and devout  
 m. 11. prayers to God, to direct his actions to Gods  
*Similiter 8.* glory and the peace of his Country, *nec non ad*  
 R. 2. *Claus.* *totius Christianitatis commodum*, and the ad-  
 m. 34. vantage of the whole Christian world; which he  
 believed could not follow but by a firm amity  
 with his neighbours. This is the dislike of war he  
 b *Rot. Parl.* openeth himself in the five & twentieth year<sup>b</sup> in  
 anno 25. E. 3. Parliament, declaring the great means he had  
 wrought by the *Pope*, but could not effect it: And  
 c *Rot. Parl.* in the third year after<sup>c</sup> calleth again the body of  
 anno 28. E. 3. the State, to devise with him the means to obtain  
 it; for that he saw his Subjects by war so greatly  
 d *Rot. Parl.* wasted. But<sup>d</sup> when anno 29. to redeem himself  
 anno 29. E. 3. and subjects from the hard tasks they had under-  
 taken, and to avoyd *effusionem sanguinis Chri-*  
*stiani, quantum potuit, vel decuit, pacem quasi-*  
*vit*, the shedding of Christian blood, he sought  
 peace as much as in him lay, and as far as was  
 fitting, sending the Duke of *Lancaster* to *Avi-*  
*gnon* in intercession, but all in vain; he stood upon  
 his own strength. By which his confident adver-  
 sary (the year following captive) that was afore  
 obdurate, justly found, that one houre can over-  
 throw *simul parta et sperata decora*, at once  
 both the honours we enjoy and those we hope  
 for. And we may truly conclude of this Kings  
 succeſſe, as *Livy*<sup>e</sup> of the *Romane* fortune, *Prop-*  
*terea bella felicia gessiſſe, quia iuſta*, that there-  
 fore his wars were prosperous, because they were  
 just.

e *Liv. l. 5.*  
*Dec. 5.*

f *Ex Chart.*  
*origin. de re-*  
*nunciat. in*  
*Theſaur.*

To obtain his desire and Subjects quiet, he was  
 contented to disclaim<sup>f</sup> the interest that Right and  
 Fortune had cast upon him. And after, though of-  
 ten

ten again incited, yet never would be drawn to the hazard of war; for *improbe Neptunum accusat qui iterum naufragium facit*, he blames Neptune very unjustly who suffers shipwrack the second time: untill the French King <sup>a</sup> *contra juramentum & formam pacis*, contrary to his oath and the form of peace, had *vexillis explicatis* with banners displayed, invaded his dominions in France, and with a Fleet intended to attempt England, *ad ipsum Regem viribus subvertendum*, utterly to undo the King by force of Arms.

<sup>a</sup> *claus. anno 45.E.3.*

Richard the second, whom as well he left Successeur to his troubles as to his kingdome, entred in the decline of his Grandfires fortune, and after many years of war and much losse, had in the end an expectation of peace; which opened to his Commons and Councel in Parliament, <sup>b</sup> their longing affection was so much inclined thereto, that they advised the King, though it were in doing homage for Guien, Callis and the rest, he should not let slip that opportunity.

<sup>b</sup> *Rot. Parl. anno 7. R. 2. n. 17.*

Untill Charles of France had received <sup>c</sup> that dangerous Rebell Owen Glendowr, by the name of *Metuendissimi Principis Wallia*, the most dread Prince of Wales, into a strict confederacy against his Master (whom he vouchsafed no other title then *Henricus de Lancastria*) by contract, and had harrowed the Isle of Wight by the Duke of Orleans and Earl of Saint Paul, entred into Gascoign himself, and prepared a Fleet and an Army to invade this land, Henry the fourth did never disquiet his peace; and after many prorogued Truces, would not break out again, untill Burgundy <sup>d</sup> (that had wrested into his hand the Government of France) meant with

<sup>c</sup> *Ex contract. origin. inter Owinum Glendowr et Regem Francie.*

<sup>d</sup> *Rot. Parl. anno 11. Hen. 4. n. 2.*

with all his force to besiege *Callis*, and annoy this Realm.

<sup>a</sup> Rot. Parl.  
an. 4 Hen. 5.

The uncle and *Chancellour* to *Henry* the fifth declared in a Parliament the desire his Master had to procure Peace, and how the *French* King had refused all reason, denying to render his prisoners, or ransom those taken at *Agin-Court* battell: so that the King was driven to his last hope, which was by dint of sword to seek his peace, concluding thus his speech; *Bella faciamus ut Pacem habeamus, quia finis Belli Pax est*: Let us fight, that we may obtain peace; for the end of war is peace.

<sup>b</sup> Rot. Parl.  
anno 14. H. 6.  
p. 2.

*Henry* the sixth, to save the expence of his people and treasure, offered <sup>b</sup> many large and liberall conditions, but received in exchange nothing but scoffes: he was contented to part with the Duchy of *Mayne*, to make up a peace with his uncle of *France*.

<sup>c</sup> Ex Artic. in  
Consilio contra  
D. Somerset.

Against the Duke of *Somerset* it was objected <sup>c</sup> by the Duke of *York*, that he (contrary to the Oath and Councell, by breaking the Amity between the two Princes) was the only ground of the losse of *Normandy*.

<sup>d</sup> Int. Record.  
Thes. Westm.

There is extant in the Treasury <sup>d</sup> a petition of 9. of *Hen. 7.* from the Captains and military men, *pro pace habenda*, that they might have peace.

<sup>e</sup> Ex Bulla  
Pap. H. 8.

Neither interest of right, nor jealousy of increasing power, could draw *Henry* the 8. unto the quarrell of *France*; until the Church complained against *Lewis* the 12. (<sup>e</sup> who neither esteeming of God, good fame, nor conscience, detained the revenues of the Clergy, supported the Cardinall *Will'am* to aspire to the *Papacy*, aided in the siege of *Boucy* *Alfonso* of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentivoghs*, both Traytours to the *Papall* Sea, where he

he intended to lay the foundation of his Empire to usurp all *Italy*, & besought him for the pittie of our *Saviour*, and by the virtue of his famous Ancestours (for I use the words of the *Popes* Brieve) a that never forlook the Church of God in distresse, and by his filiall obedience, (the strongest bond) to enter into that holy *League*, they having elected him against *Lewis*, *Caput fœderis Italici*, Head of the *Italian League*.

<sup>a</sup> *Ex tractatu origin, in l. B.*  
<sup>266.</sup>

*Edward* the sixth, <sup>b</sup> until urged with the touch of his honour, being by his neighbours neglected in the marriage of their Mistresse, never attempted any war against them.

<sup>b</sup> *Ex proclama: E. 6. de expeditione contra Scotos.*

The quarrells of *France* in the time of his succeeding sister, after the marriage with *Spaine*, were neither properly ours, nor begun by us, although in the end we onely went away with the losse.

Her Sister of holy memory, to effect the peace with *France*, forbore the demand of *Callis* for 8, years, & neglected to urge a just debt of four millions from that Crown. <sup>d</sup> And the labours she spent to confirm amity with *Spaine*, by many friendly offices of mediation, are apparent to the whole world; though in the end of her desires she failed: whether happily in prevention of the *Spanish Monarchy* eternizing her memory, or that this work of peace was by divine providence reserved for him that could and hath best effected it, I know not. Onely I conclude, that as the first Monarch in *Rome*, so the first in *Britain* might justly write, *Pace Populo Britanno terræ marique parta, Ianum clausi*, having settled *Britain* in peace by land and sea, I have shut up the doors of *Ianus* Temple.

<sup>c</sup> *Ex tract. Cambrensi 1569.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Ex proclam. anno 3. Eliz.*



For-  
reign  
armes  
the  
ground  
of trou-  
ble at  
home,  
by the

Enemy,  
who to  
divert  
will at-  
tempt.

Subjects

wearied  
with

Toyl.  
Taxa-  
tion,

Feared with  
the effect of  
tyranny.

Inured to wars  
can never sute  
after to a quiet  
life.

It is evident by our own  
examples, that for the most  
part, the Civil or Forreign  
Armies that have oppressed  
this State, have been either  
bred out of our first attempting  
of others, or out of the grie-  
vance of the Nobility & peo-  
ple, either wearied with the  
toil and charge, or feared with  
the effect of Tyranny, which  
might corrupt the good for-  
tune of their King, or else (a  
plague no lesse of war) that the  
better sort inured to command  
abroad, have forgotten to obey  
at home, and the inferiour by  
living there upon rapine and  
purchase, unwilling here to  
tye themselves again to order  
(and industry.

Examples of  
Invasion  
drawn from  
the attempts  
of others,

Ex Rot. Scotie  
anno 10. E. 3.  
m. 14.

There is in the Register of State no time that  
so well expresth either the danger or damage  
we underwent in waking an adversary, as that of  
*Edward* the third. Out of many examples I  
will select some few, beginning with the tenth of  
his reign; at what time his intention was to at-  
tempt somewhat in *France*, but diverted by *Phi-*  
*lip*, who, mustering in *partibus Britannia ad in-*  
*vadendum Regnum Anglia*, in the parts of  
*Britany* to invade the Kingdome of *England*, a  
puissant Army, enforced *Edward* the third to fall  
from his first purpose, and insist upon his own  
guard: for which cause, to the infinite charge  
of himself and people, he levied 80000, men  
out



out of the Shires of this Kingdome. To withdraw  
his forces from *France*, in the thirteenth of his  
reigne, they invaded the Realm, and burned the  
Towns of *Plymouth* and *Southampton*, places  
that suffered from the same motive the like  
calamity.

In the first of *Richard* the second, after the  
Battell of *Cressy*, when they feared our too much  
footings, and we too much believed our own for-  
tune, for she cito reposcit quod dedit, quickly  
calls for back what she gave us; the a Duke of a *Rot. Parl.*  
*Normandy*, to draw home our forces, levieth an  
Army of forty thousand men at armes, and forty  
thousand foot, sharing by idle contracts be-  
fore-hand with his confederates not the spoils on-  
ly, but the Kingdome it self; the Honour and  
some other portion of benefits he reserved as his  
own meed; the possessions of many *English* Sub-  
jects in pure alms he voweth to the Church of  
*Normandy*, and to the *French* King an yearly  
tributary Fee of twenty thousand pound. In  
these termes this Realm stood almost all the time  
of *Edward* the third.

The Coast-dwellers were so frightened from  
their habitation, as in the thirteenth year the king  
commanded the Earle of *Richmond* b and other b *Rot. Franc.*  
Peers to reside at their border houses; and was in dorso. 22.  
enforced in the two and twentieth to injoyn by E. 3. m. 6.  
Ordinance, that none should remove that dwelt  
within sex leucas à mari, six leagues of the  
of sea.

It was no whit altered under his successour *Rich-  
ard* the second; for in his entrance the *French*  
burnt the Town of *Rye*, and in the third year after  
*Gravesend*. And in the tenth year of his reigne,  
to change his intended journey for *France* in-  
per-

person, the *French* King prepareth an Army to invade this land. This quarrel led us almost into an eternal charge at sea, and in the Northern limits, they and our neighbours there being tyed of old in strict assurance of mutual aid: by whose desperate and perpetual incurſion ( for *nescit Plebs jejuna timere*, an half-starved rabble fears nothing, ) the fatteſt parts of our borders were left waſt, the men and cattel of *England* ( as 16. of *Edw. 2.* ) *impetus Scotorum fugientes*, being fled for ſafety to the Forreſts and deſert places. The like I find in the firſt of *Edward* the third: they ever thus interrupting us in our expeditions into *France*; as in 20. *Ed. 3.* in the firſt and ſecond of *Richard* the ſecond, in the fifth of *Henry* the fifth, and in the fourth of *Henry* the eighth, when he undertook his holy voyage againſt *Lewis* the twelfth.

And either being no leſſe ready to nourish the leaſt ſpark of rebellion in this State, as that of the *French* King to counterpoize King *John*; or to work out *Henry* the third from his *Dutchy* of *Normandy*, as *France* did; or moving underhand by the *Duke* of *Britain*, the *Earl* of *Hartford* to reach the Crowne of *Richard* the ſecond, and when he had got the garland, ſuborning *Owen Glendowr* ( with whom he contracted as *Prince* of *Wales* ) to buſie the ſame King at home, that he might divert his intended purpoſe from *France* or *Scotland*.

When *Henry* the third had devoured in his mind the kingdome of *Sicily*, the Nobility diſlike of for- finding the expence of Treſure, and fearing the reign expe- expoſing of their own perſons, grew ſo unwilling ditions have that by the bent and courſe of the record it appeared.

appeareth not the least ground of that rebellion<sup>a</sup> *Ex Rot.*  
which after drew the King and his Son to so *pat. & claus.*  
foul conditions. *de annis*

A judgment there must be between powers and *40, 41, 42.*  
undertakings, that though affections may carry *Hen. 3.*

A man to great things, they make him not at-  
tempt impossible: for where great minds are not  
accompanied with great judgements, they over-  
throw themselves. As in this Prince, who by the  
*Popes incitement simplicitatem Regis circum-*  
*veniens*, circumventing the King in his honest  
meaning, (they are the words of the Authour b) *b Comine;*  
intending to rife the fortunes of others, was in *censura de*  
the end inforced to play at dice for his own stake. *com. char.*  
*cap. 8.*

The *Earls of Hartford, Bohun and Bigot*,  
made the grounds of their commotions the dis-  
tast they took at *Edward* the first for exacting  
their Service in the quarrel of *Gascoigne*, a for-  
rein Country. And they might seem to have some  
colour to refuse, but in a more mannerly fashi-  
on, either attendance or charge in recovery or  
defence of Provinces in *France*, since so many  
consents in Parliament, as *c 20. of Rich. 2. 6.*  
and *9. of Henry* the fourth, the first and seventh  
of *Henry* the fifth affirm the Commons not to be  
bound *pour supporter ses Guerres en la terre*  
*de France ou Normandie*, to support his wars  
either in *France* or *Normandy*; declaring no less  
by publick protestation, then they did by unduti-  
full denial.

For the burden of *Charge*, it was no lesse dis-  
tastfull then the former of Service, this kingdome  
being (as it is sayd d of the *Roman* Provinces  
occasioned by war) made desert, and the people  
desperate by *Exactions*. In the Conquerours time  
Burthen of  
charge grie-  
vous, ground  
of much  
trouble and  
oppression.

*d Cicero Epist. ad Att. lib. 5.*

the

<sup>a</sup> Ex Radul-  
pho Gogeshal.  
de anno 8. lo-  
sunk.

<sup>b</sup> Ex Matth.  
Westm.

<sup>c</sup> Ex Matth.  
Paris bist.  
minori.

<sup>d</sup> Ex Matth.  
Paris bist. ma.  
pag. 780.

the Bishop of *Durham* was killed by the tumultuous people, opposing an imposition levied by him. There was <sup>a</sup> *murmuratio et imprecatio Pralatorum in Regem Ioannem*, mutterings and curses from the Prelates against King *John*, for demanding in the eighth of his reigne a relief of them and the Layety for his wars. In the 16<sup>th</sup>. year *Cives Londinenses Ioannem odio habuerunt pro injustis Exactionibus quibus Regnum fatigauerat*, the Londoners detested King *John* for his tiring out the Kingdome with unjust taxations. <sup>b</sup> The sink of his expence in war was so bottomlesse, that ( as the story saith ) he was constrained *deservire quotidie cum incremento*, to grow every day more unreasonable in his carriage towards the Church and Commonwealth, *eas bonis suis variis modis spoliando*, by despoiling them severall wayes of their goods. <sup>c</sup> *Hinc secutum est Bellum inter Regem et Barones quod cum morte Ioannis solum finem habuit*: This was it which kindled that war betwixt the King and his Barons, which nothing could quench but the death of *John* himself.

In the 26<sup>th</sup>. of *Henry* the third, *ob exactionum frequentiam est Regi cum Baronibus contentio*, by reason of the continuall exactions there arose a contention betwixt the King and his Barons <sup>d</sup>. At the Parlee of peace with them being demanded a reason of that their action, they answer that since he came to the Crown, being not twelve yeares, *multoties ei auxilium dederunt*, they had many times supplied him; and expressing the particulars besides in the same place, he had received *tot Escaetas*, so many Escheats, by the vacancy of rich Bishopricks, death

of

of so many Barons and others that held of him, that those alone would have made him rich if they had been well imployed. That the *Itinerant Justices* had by amercing the defaults gleaned them so near, that *per illa Amerciamenta et alia Auxilia prius data omnes de Regno ita gravarentur & depauperarentur, ut parum aut nihil haberent in Bonis*, by those Amercements & the Subsidies they had formerly given him, all the Kingdom was so crushed & impoverished, that they had little or nothing left them. And that was the ground of their resistance. <sup>a</sup> *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et alii Prelati resistunt Regi*, the Archbishop of <sup>a</sup> *Ex Joanne Everiden.* Canterbury and other Prelates resist the King, when in his fifteenth yeare he demanded *Scutage*. And although he laid open to the Parliament his great debt *causa bellica expeditionis in partibus transmarinis*, occasioned by his forreign expeditions, was answered by *Ranulph Earle of Chester*, the mouth of the Layety, That in the former Aides *Pecuniam suam effuderunt, quod inde pauperes omnes recesserunt, unde Regi de jure auxilium non debebant*, they had powred out their mony so liberally, as that being all impoverished by it, they were not obliged to assist him any farther. And thus he dissolved the Parliament. <sup>b</sup> *Ex hist.*

The Clergy of the Realm in the 24. of <sup>c</sup> *Matth. Paris* Edward the first denied the demand of <sup>c</sup> *pag. 32.* *Con-* tribution <sup>c</sup> *Ex Matth. Westm. Walt. Gisbourn,* *in expeditionem Regis contra Gallos et ad reprimendos Scotos*, towards the Kings expedition against the French, and the repressing of the Scots. And *ob has crebras exactiones magnus fit tumultus inter Regem et Barones*, by reason of these frequent extorsions, there arose a great difference betwixt the King and the Barons.



<sup>a</sup> Rot. Claus.  
anno 3. E. 3.

<sup>b</sup> Cassiodori  
Var.

<sup>c</sup> Rot. Alm.  
m. 22.

<sup>d</sup> Tho. V Val-  
singham.  
Rot. Parl.

<sup>e</sup> Rot. Alm.  
12. E. 3. m. 22

<sup>f</sup> Ex Rot. Par.  
de an. 2. 3.  
5. 7. 8. & 9.  
R. 2. & Claus.  
anno 8. E. 2.

One of the Articles of treason objected against *Mortimer* <sup>a</sup> in Parliament 4. of *Edward* 3. was the offence he bred in the Commonwealth, by causing a Subsidie to be exacted. This humour of the people did somewhat suit with that of the Inhabitants of *Trevers*, <sup>b</sup> who stoned to death *Proclerus* for perswading *Theodore* the Goth to crave a Subsidy.

The Clergie in the 12. of *Edw.* 3. <sup>c</sup> deny such a grant of their Wools as the Laiety had yielded to, for supplying the King in his affairs of *France*. The like answer they make 44. of the same King, when he <sup>d</sup> demanded in Parliament a Subsidy of them & the Commons of 100000*l.* And the same King grown doubtfull of his people prest down with Impositions, requireth the Archbishop, <sup>e</sup> *Quod cum Populus Regni sui variis Oneribus, Tallagiis & Impositionibus pregravetur, ut idem Archiepisc. Indulgentiarum muneribus, piis Exhortationibus, & aliis modis, eundem Populum placare stuaear, & ipsum Regem excuset*, that since the Subjects of his Kingdom were over-charged with many Burthens, Tallages, and other Impositions, the said Archbishop would by grant of Indulgences, seasonable Exhortations, & otherwaies endeavour to pacify the people, and excuse the King.

By reason of the *Census per Capita*, Polymony imposed by Parliament 3. of *Richard* the second to defray the warres in *France*, there were <sup>f</sup> *diræ imprecationes in Regem, & magna post perturbationes in Regno ex Plebis insurrectione*, heavy and bitter imprecations against the King, which were followed with great troubles in the nation by the insurrection of the Commons. And as well in the reign of this King.



King, as some other of his Predecessours and Successours, the Parliament was so tender in grant of Subsidy & other Taxes, that they added into their Act, *a quod non trahatur in consuetudinem*, that it should be no example for the future, appointing peculiar Treasurers of their own to give account upon Oath the next Parliament: and such Grants, which they professed to proceed *b ex libera & spontanea voluntate Domino- rum & Comitatum*, from the free & voluntary grant of the Lords and respective Counties, to be void if Conditions on the Kings part were not performed. And this unfortunate King had cast upon him as an argument of his unworthiness to govern, the exacting of so great Subsidies, and extorting so much money from the Shires that submitted their Fortunes unto his mercy.

And when Henry the 6. in anno 20. would have had a Relief from his Subjects *c de aliqua summa notabili*, of some considerable summe; he had in answer, *Propter inopiam, &c. populi illud non posse obtineri*, that in regard of the poverty, &c. of the people it could not be granted. The like 24. of the same King. Great men have been disposed sometimes to humour the waste of Treasure in their Princes, either to subject Power by Need to their devotion and awe, (for Princes dare most offend them whom they have least cause to use;) or to force Necessity to extend *Prærogative* so far, untill by putting all into Combustion, some may attain unto the end of their Ambition, others the redresse of supposed Injuries. *d* Thus did the Faction of Hen. the fourth in the one, and the Nobility under Hen. the third in the other; who hereby quitted the State oppressed (as they thought)

*a Ex chron.  
S. Albani.*

*b Rot. Parl.  
anno 1. H. 4.*

*c In Bundel  
Inquisitionum,  
anno 20.  
& anno 24.  
Hen. 6.*

*d Ex lib. Ab.  
bat. de Ram-  
sey.*

with the Kings Half-brothers, the *Poictovins* and other Strangers.

*a* Mat. Paris  
Hist. min.  
*b* Ex Adam  
Merimouth  
in vita Ed. 2.

Subjects feare to have the enemies of their Sovereigns too much weakned, least themselves become Tyrants. And it is in the farthest respect in the *a* *Baronage* under *John*, *Henry* his son, and *b* *Edward* the second, to feare asmuch the absolute Greatness of their Sovereign, as they did the *Diminution* of their own estates. And therefore when they found their King to grow too fast upon any neighbour Adversary, then would they lend their best aid to diminish his power or fortune; least by enlarging himself upon the other that poized his greatness, he might forget and become a Tyrant; as one saith of *Henry* the first, *c* *Assumpserat cornua audacia tam contra Ecclesiam quam Regni universalitatem, Roberto fratre et aliis inimicis edomitis*, having once overcome his brother *Robert* and other enemies, with audacious and presumptuous horns he goared as well the Church, as the rest of the Kingdome, breaking his Seal, his Charter, and his Oath.

*d* Mat. Paris  
Hist. majori.

The memory of this caused the Nobility *d* to call in the *French* Kings Son, when *John* their Sovereign began to know his own authority (as they thought) too much. And the *French* Subjects aided on the other side *Henry* the third against their *M<sup>r</sup>*. when he was almost cooped up in his *Britain* journey. This (as the Stories report) being a practice usuall in those dayes.

Military Education  
cause of  
trouble in  
the State.

**T**He last mischief is the disposition that Military education leaveth in the mindes of many; For it is not born with them that they so

so much distaste peace, but proceeds from that custome that hath made in them another nature.

It is rarely found that ever Civil troubles of this State were dangerously undertaken, but where the plot and pursuit was made by a spirit so infused.

Heads of dan-  
gerous Rebel-  
lions have  
been onely  
such as by  
Command in  
Warre have  
forgot to o-  
bey in Peace.  
a Mat. Paris  
anno 5. Joan.

King Iohn had been after a *sine Regno* without a Kingdome, as he was at first *sans terre* without land, if his rebenediction had not wrought more upon the disloyall designs of Fitzwalter and Marshall, (whom his own elective love had made great in opinion by the Norman Services) then either his rebated Sword or blasted Sceptre could.

b willielm. de  
Rishanger in  
Historia

b If Simon Montfort had not been too much improved in Experience and his own Opinion by the many services he underwent in the government of Gascoign, he had never so much dared against Duty, as to come over at the first call to make head against his Master, and pursue him with that fury of Ambition, untill he had forced him to redeem the liberty of his person by the blasting of so many flowers of his Imperiall Crown: and to set himself so far below the seat of Majesty, as to capitulate with them upon even conditions, which not performed (I use his own words) c *Liceat omnibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere*, it shall be lawfull for all persons in our Kingdome to rise up against us, and to do *omnia quae gravamen nostrum respiciant*, ac si Nobis in nullo tenerentur, so to act all things in reference to the grievances from us upon them, as if they were by no ty obliged to us.

c Ex Charta  
concess. Baro-  
nibus anno 49.  
Hen. 3.

If Richard Duke of York had never learned to be so great a Souldier at the cost of his Master

Verba Ducis  
Somerſet, contra  
Ducem  
Eborac, contra  
Regem.

Henry the ſixth in another State, he had never diſquieted the calm of his Times, or given juſt occaſion to his Oppoſite *Somerſet* to ſay, That if he had never learned to play the King by his *Regencie in France*, he had never forgot to obey as a Subject when he returned into *England*.

Our own times can afford ſome, whoſe ſpirit improved by *Military* imploymēt, and made wanton with popular applauſe, might have given inſtance of theſe dangers, if good ſucceſſe had been a relative to bad intentions. And every age breeds ſome exorbitant ſpirits, who turn the edge of their own ſufficiency upon whatſoever they can devour in their ambitious apprehenſions, ſeeking rather a great than a good Fame; and holding it the chiefeſt Honour to be thought the Wonder of their times: which if they attain to, it is but the condition of Monſters, that are generally much admired, but more abhorred.

But warre ſome may ſay mouldeth not all men thus: for vertuous men will uſe their weapons for ornament amongſt their Friends, againſt Enemies for defence. And to thoſe men their own goodneſs is not ſafe, *nam Regibus boni quam mali ſuſpectiores ſunt*, for Kings ſuſpect good men ſooner then bad. Kings muſt have their Miniſters *pares negotiis* fit for their buſineſſe, and not *ſupra* above it, or too able for it. For another mans too-much ſufficiency (as they take it) is a diminution of their reſpectivenes, and therefore dangerous.

Many diſorders in the State by re- turn of the common Souldier,

**T**He meaner ſort having forgot the toile of their firſt life by inuring themſelves to the liberty of Warre, which leaveth for the moſt part the

the lives of men to their own looseness, and the means of getting to their own justice, can never again endure either order or labour; and so return but to corrupt the Common-wealth with their lawlesse manners. For living more riotously then the rapine of forrein victory could warrant, (as for the most they doe) in contempt of their own private Want and Fortune, they desire a change of the publick Quiet. In Tumults and Uproars they take least care for their livings, howere the world goes they can be no losers: for like *Silla's Army*, making no difference between sacred and profane Robberies, (for the victors Sword seldome teacheth either mean or modesty) they will be ready upon every advantage to pillage their Country-men at home. For who can expect men dissolutely disciplined can ever use their armes with moderation?

Against the fury of such seditious Outrages many Parliaments, as<sup>a</sup> in the 22. of *Hen.* the <sup>a</sup> *Parl. anns* 6. have been solicited for redresse. And that <sup>b</sup> *22. Hen. 6.* example in <sup>b</sup> *Champaign* after the Peace at *Cal-* <sup>b</sup> *Froissard.* *lis* 1360. where this licentious Rout at the close of those warres slue the *Duke of Bourbon*, and besieged the *Pope* at *Avignon*, may suffice to expresse this mischief.

It hath no lesse weakened the bond of mutual Trade; since our Marchants, whom the necessity of late times left to recover by force the losses they pretended, do now teach, as a *Maxime* of their *Mysterie* and our State, That the directest way either to wealth or security is by *Rapine* and *Spoile*: and to cloake their own ends pretend the common good; as if the State stood by their affections, when in truth they



themselves cannot fish but in *aqua turbida* in troubled waters; & therefore would have *Incedium Patriæ* a bonfire of their Country, if it be but to keep warm & awake their own humours.

Exhausting of the people no Necessity but Danger.

**T**He last motive from Necessity is, the ease Warre bringeth to a furcharged State. Intending it seemeth Warre but as the Sinck, and Souldiers but as the Corruptions of Commonweals; whereas besides the inevitable use of the one, and the noble condition of the other, (an Error in the argument) Nature doth never oppress further by increase, then she again discharge. The breast of the Mother she enableth to nourish up as many as the Womb shall *uno partu* at one birth ever bring forth; proportioning to the number of the children the condition of their Strength and Appetites. It is then accession of our own that may surcharge; for Parents by such indulgent admission may soon famish whom in Motherly affection they intend to cherish.

But admitting the former ground, whether by this way of waste we be ever able and at pleasure to gage the Issue (when such elective power is left to him onely *qui suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio*, who stands by his own strength, and not at the pleasure of another) is considerable; since to begin *cuius licet, deponere cum victores volunt*, is easy for any man, but the laying down will be at the conquerous pleasure. For the wasting of our people in ambitious Enterprizes (as that for an Empire by Constantine in France) left this land as a prey to the barbarous Frontiers, *omni milite & florida Inventus; alacritate spoliata*, being left

<sup>a</sup> Bede Hist. Escl. lib. 1.



naked of Souldiery, and robbed of the choicest flower of youth. And when we were tied to make good our undertaking in *France*, the waste of our people was so great, that to supply extremity we took *purgamenta urbium*, the dreggs of townes, (as *Curtius* saith of *Alexander*;) <sup>a</sup> Need <sup>a</sup> *Ex Rot.* hiring the *Bankrupts* by protection, as in 22. *Francie an.* of *Edward* the first; and enforcing, against the 22. *E. 1.* rule of justice, the Judges to put *Placita eorum in respectu qui in obsequium Regis profecturi sunt*, Pleas in the behalf of such as were to go in the Kings service. And as *Tacitus* of a declined Majesty saith, *emunt militem, non legunt*, they buy their Souldiers rather then make choice of them; we made purchase of generall Pardons of all that were *Utlegati*, *Banniti*, aut de *Felonis indictati*, *si cum Rege transire voluerint*, our-lawed, excommunicated, or indicted of Felony, in case they would go over with the King. As in the same year of the former King and in the year after were discharged out of all Prisons in the Realm to the number of 97 notorious Malefactours. <sup>b</sup> And in the 18. of *Edward* the <sup>b</sup> *Ex Rot.* second, and 8. of *Edw.* the third, and 12. of *Edw.* *Original. in* fourth we did the like. An army better apted by *Arch. The-* Necessity then Election to live upon the Enemy, *law.*

*Quibus ob Egestatem & Flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo est*, whose indigency and former ill-way of life must needs make them ready for any mischief. In the end of this King last remembred, and entrance of his Heir *Richard* the second, the State began to be sensible of consuming Issue; which not lying in the Kings power (now as the strength of *France*, set on Revenge, stood) to stay at pleasure, (for--*arma tenenti Omnia dat qui iusta negat*--Deny the Soul-

Souldiers due, You give him all you have ) it  
 a *Ex Rot. Par.* was urged to him in Parliament a 7. of his reign,  
*anno 7. R. 2.* as an *error* in his Government : whereto he  
 answered , that they ought not to lay the cause  
 upon him, for that together with the Crown the  
 Warres descended unto him. And the *Chancellor*  
 4. of *Henry the 4.* declared publickly in the  
 Higher House, that by the mischance of Warre  
 and want of reasonable *Peace*, ( for I use the  
 words of the Roll ) occasioned by dissension  
 and private desire , the flower of *Chivalry* and  
 Rock of *Nobles* within the Realm was in a  
 manner consumed.

Lucan,

*Nobilitas cum Plebe perit, lateque vagatur  
 Ensis, & à multo revocatum est pectore ferrum.*

The Peer and Peasant falls, and hating rest

Bloudy the Sword returns from many a breast.

And the whole State by warre had been thus  
 subverted, had not God as a mean raised that  
 King.

Better to dis-  
 burden the  
 state by Co-  
 lony then  
 War.

But since the end of mans creation is not for  
 the Slaughter, nor education of Armes to make  
 men Castawayes ; the course most answerable  
 either to *charity*, or *Example*, ( for *Rome* did by  
*colonies* inlarge and confirm her *Empire* ) is to  
 transplant that we may best spare. In *Ireland*  
 we may increase the King many Subjects, and  
 in the *Indies* God many servants: a world from  
 our Forefathers lockt up by divine Providence,  
 as onely best to glorify and purify these Times.  
 And as in warre *conquirendus potius miles  
 quam dimittendus*, Souldiers are rather to be li-  
 sted then disbanded; so post bellum *vires reso-  
 vende magis quam spargenda*, after warre  
 forces are rather to be cherished then wasted.  
 And thus much in answer of *Necessity*.

Answer

*Answer to the Arguments of Profit.*

**T**HE profits gained by Forrain Expeditions cannot be any wayes so truly esteemed, as by setting down the expence of Mony, Men, and Munition, by which we have made purchase of them. I will therefore deliver as they fall in sequence all the Impositions, *Taxes* and *Lones*, whether by generall Grant, or *Prærogative* power levied of the People; summing after up, as I go along the times of our Princes, the number of Men, Ships, and vast *provisions* of Victualls raised to supply the necessity & expence of War.

Profit of war.  
Expence of  
money, Mu-  
nition and  
men.

**W**ILLIAM the Conquerour in the entrance of his government took of every Hide-land 12d. a due of the Subjects to the Sovereign both before and since the *Conquest*, to defray such charge as either the defence of the Land from spoile, or the Sea from *Piracy*, should expose the Prince to. It is called *Dane-geld*, *Gelda Regis*, or *Hidage*, and was sessed by the Hide or Plough-land, like to that *Jugatio per jugera* taxation by the acre in *Rome*, yet by no rate definite with this as with another *Exaction*, taken, as the Monk of *S. Albans* a saith, *sive per fas sive per nefas*, by fair means or by foule. He passed over into *France*, into the list of charge he ranked the Bishops and Abbots, sassing upon them and at their charge a proportion of Souldiers for his service, exiling many worthy men that opposed this thraldome.

<sup>a</sup> Ex Matib.  
Paris pag. 8.  
& 15.

*William Rufus* anno 7. set upon the heads of so many as he mustered up for the *French* wars 10. shil. a man, and so discharged them. In an. 9. he to the same end spoiled the Churches of their Ornaments and *Holy vessels*, and levied

*William Rufus.*

4. Hi-

<sup>a</sup> *Ex antiq.  
legibus Anglie.*

<sup>b</sup> *Silius Italicus,*

<sup>c</sup> *Ex Hist.  
Gualt.*

*Gisborn.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ex Hist.*

*Mat. Paris.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ex Hist.*

*Mat. Westm.*

<sup>f</sup> *Ex Hist.*

*Hen. Hunting.*

*Stephen.*

<sup>g</sup> *Ex Hist.*

*Mon. Gisborn.*

*Henry 2.*

4 *Hidages* of every Plough-land, <sup>a</sup> *Tribute* *Angliam non modo abradens, sed excorians,* not only shaving, but even flaying England with his impositions: so that wearied with war and expence, *ne respirare potuit Anglia sub ipso suffocata,* England was quite stifled by him and could not so much as breath. --- <sup>b</sup> *Quid jam non Regibus ausum? Aut quid jam Regno restat Scelus?* --What durst not Kings then do? What mischief could the Nation suffer more? in this Kings time.

<sup>c</sup> *Henry the first anno 5. magnam à Regno exegit Pecuniam,* exacted a great summe of his Kingdome, with which he passed into France: and by this means <sup>d</sup> *gravabatur terra Anglie oppressionibus multis,* England was born down with many oppressions. <sup>e</sup> He took in the 10. year 6. shillings *Danegeld.* <sup>f</sup> And in the 17. *Quod inter eum & Regem Francorū magnū fuit dissidium,* *Anglia fuit variis depressa Exactionibus, & Bonis sine peccato spoliata,* by means of the great difference betwixt him and the King of France, England was oppressed with divers exactions, & men spoild of their goods for no offence at all.

Of King Stephen there need no more then the words of the *Monk of Gisborn,* <sup>g</sup> *Post annum sextum Pax nulla, omnes partes terre erat violenta Prædatio,* after the 6. year of his reign there was no quiet, but all parts of the land became a prey and spoil to violent men.

*Henry the second,* alluding not unlike to the *Feoda* given the *Eremita* in the decline of the Empire, as *Salaries* by which they stood bound to defend the Frontiers against the Incurfions of the Barbarous Nations, continued the Policy of his Progenitours, w<sup>h</sup>o allotted the land into

such

such and so many equall portions, as might seem competent for supportation of a Knight or man at Armes; from whom (as occasion required) they received either service or contribution. This Tenure, now esteemed a Thraldome, began upon a voluntary and desired submission; for who from his gift would not of the Prince accept land upon the like conditions, so it toucheth not the Sovereign as a wrong to the Subject, but as in right his own? And therefore respecting their first immediate dependency upon the Crown, which is a great part of the Kings Honour, their duties and Escheats a great benefit, and their attendance by Tenure in warre at their own charge to the number of 60216 at the least, (for the Knights Fees in England are no lesse) a great ease, strength, and security to his State; for they are *totidem Hostagia*, so many Hostages, as *Bracton* saith; it were a thing perilous now to alter, after such a current of time & custome. This King to understand the better his own strength, *publico praecepit edicto quod quilibet Prelatus & Baro, quot Milites de eo teneant in capite publicis suis instrumentis significarent*, he caused it to be proclaimed that every Prelate and Baron should notify by publick deed how many Knightships they held of him *in capite*. By this rule of *Scutage*, constant in the number, he levied alwayes his Subsidies and relief, though divers in the rate. Of the first, which was neare the beginning of his Reign, there is no record. The second *Scutage*, which was anno 5. amounted to 124 millialibrarum argenti, thousand pounds of silver; which reduced to the standard of our money 5 shil. the ounce, whereas that was not five groats, will amount

Ex Gervaf.  
Dorobernen.  
anno 1159.



- <sup>a</sup> *Ex lib. Rub. in Scerio.* amount to near 400000*l.* *An. 7. a Scutagiū fuisse ad duas Marcas pro Exercitu Tholose* a Scutage was assessed 2 Marks for the army at Tholouse; w<sup>ch</sup> if summed up by the received number of Knights Fees, being 60216 in the hands of the Layety onely, of our moneys cannot be lesse then 250000*l.* The like in the next year. In an
- <sup>b</sup> *Ex Gervaf. Dorobernens.* 11. <sup>b</sup> there was an Aid *pro servientibus invenien- dis in exercitu*, to find men to serve in the wars of 2*d.* *de unaquaque libra* in every pound And 4. *sequentibus annis de singulis libris singulis denariis*, in the four following yeares a penny in the pound was taken of all men, the estates of mens Fortunes being delivered upon their Oaths. In the 14. yeare a Scutage was
- <sup>c</sup> *Rub. lib. in Scerio.* assessed <sup>c</sup> *ad Marcam unam de singulis Feodis*, one Mark on every Fee. And anno 18.
- <sup>d</sup> *Ex hist. Rosens.* <sup>d</sup> *Scutagium pro quolibet Feodo*, a Scutage for every Fee. A Tenth of all moveables was granted in the 35. of his Reign. In which year dying,
- <sup>e</sup> *Ex hist. Mat Paris.* 900 <sup>e</sup> *millia librarum in auro & argento, prater utensilia & jocalia, reliquit*, he left in mony 900000 pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.
- Richard 1. <sup>f</sup> Richard the first in the beginning besides
- <sup>f</sup> *Rub. liber in Scerio.* *Scutagium Wallie assessum*, a Scutage assessed upon Wales at 10. shil. levied as in the succour of the Holy Land a Subsidie out of all the Moveables in the Realm to his own use; <sup>g</sup> *Et elemosyna titulo vitium Rapacitatis inclussit*, cloaking his ravenous extortion under the fair name of a pious almes. A contribution there was in the 6. yeare of 150 <sup>h</sup> *millia marcarum argenti*
- <sup>g</sup> *Ex hist. min. Math. Paris. Rub. libr.* <sup>h</sup> *ad pondus Columniensium*, 150000 marks
- <sup>h</sup> *Ex hist. walt, Coventr.* of silver to pay his ransome: as also a
- <sup>i</sup> *Ex Rog. Hoved. & walt. Covent.* Scutage assessed at 20 shil. In the 17. he imposed for his warrs a contribution called *Tene-*

mentale. Extremity ( for by his waste and imprisonment he had almost exhausted the wealth of the State ) invented *nova & varia pradandi vocabula*, new and sundry words to expresse his exactions, as *Tacitus* <sup>a</sup> saith, of *Centesima* & <sup>a</sup> *Tacit. an-* *Quingagesima*, an hundredth part and a fifth part, (names that since have found reception and use with us.) This was 2. shillings of every Plough-land from the Husbandman, and from the Gentry and Nobility the third part of their Military service. He inforced the *Cistercian Monks* <sup>b</sup> to redeem the same yeare <sup>b</sup> *Ex Joan.* their woolls *sine Pecuniaria*, at a Fine. For his *Everſden*. Army into *Normandy* <sup>c</sup> he took a *Scutage* as- <sup>c</sup> *Rub. lib. in* ſeſſed at 20 shillings. <sup>d</sup> And 4. years after of *Secrio*. every Plough-land 5. shillings, and of every <sup>a</sup> *Ex walt.* *Borough* and <sup>c</sup> *City duos palfridos & totidem Coventr.* *summarios*, 2. horses and as many summaries; <sup>c</sup> *Ex Math.* and of every *Abbot* half asmuch. Then loo- *Paris.* sing of purpose his great Seale, proclaimed that <sup>e</sup> *Omnes Charta & Confirmationes norvi* <sup>f</sup> *Ex charta* *Sigilli impressione roborarentur*, all Charters *origin.* and Assurances should be confirmed by the new Seal. Whereby anew he drew from all men a composition for their Liberties. This fashion was afterwards taken up by some of his Successours; as <sup>g</sup> of *Henry the 3.* when all <sup>g</sup> *Ex hist. Mat.* again were enjoyned *qui suis volebant liber-* *Paris pa. 209.* *tatibus gaudere*, as many as would enjoy their Liberties, *ut innovarent Chartas suas de novo Regis Sigillo*, to renew their Charters from the Kings new Seal. Some reason <sup>h</sup> *Richard* had <sup>h</sup> *Ex hist. Rog.* in the end to become a gatherer, that had not *Hoveden.* long before by accompt of *Chancellour Hubert* then *Archbishop*, spent *infra biennium undecies centena millia Marcarum argenti. de Regno An-*

King John.

a Rad. Cog-

shall &amp; Rub.

lib. in Scerio.

b Ex Rog.

Hoveden.

c Ex Math.

Paris.

d Lib. Rub.

in Scerio.

e Ex Math.

Paris.

f Ex Lib. Rub.

Scerio.

g Ex Rad.

Cogshall.

h Ex Math.

Paris.

i Walt. Co-

ventr. &amp; Rad.

Cogshall.

k Ex Math.

Paris.

l Ex Rad.

Cogshall.

m Rub. lib. in

Scerio.

n Ex Rad.

Cogshall &amp;

Rub. lib. in

Scerio.

o Math. Paris

bist. min.

p Rub. lib. in

Scerio.

Henry 3.

q Ex Rub. lib.

in Scerio &amp;

Joan. Evers-

den.

*Anglia*, within lesthen 2 yeares eleven hundred thousand Marks of silver current English money.

His brother *Iohn* succeeding <sup>a</sup> took in the first of his Reign a *Scutage* assessed at two Marks. <sup>b</sup> For the two next years 3 shil. of every Plough: <sup>c</sup> and the year following, besides a *Scutage* as before, the 40. part of the Revenues of the Clergie and Layety. <sup>d</sup> In the 4. year hee took the like *Scutage*, and the <sup>e</sup> seventh part of the moveable goods of the *Baronage* & *Clergie*. A *Scutage* assessed at 2 Marks <sup>f</sup> in *an. 5. g* The like in the 6. and 7. years 20 shil. *Scutage*; and the 13 part of Moveables aswell of the Church as Layety in the year following. In <sup>h</sup> *an. 9.* he exacted by redemption of the Concubines of the Clergie a great summe. In the 11. <sup>i</sup> *extor sit tributum grave, scil. 140 millia librarum a viris Ecclesiasticis*, he extorted a great tribute, viz. 140000 pounds of the Church-men. And to furnish his Army, <sup>k</sup> *Clericorum Horrea invadit*, he came upon the Barns of the Clergy. In <sup>l</sup> the 12. a *Scutage* assessed at two marks, besides an exaction <sup>m</sup> of 22000 l. from the *Cisterians*. He took <sup>n</sup> in the 13. year a *Scutage* assessed at 20 sh. *pro exercitu Wallia*, for his *Welsh* Army; exacting <sup>o</sup> from the Ministers of the Church in the year following 40000 marks. <sup>p</sup> And in the 16. year *Scutagium assessum fuit pro exercitu Pictavia ad 3 Marcas*, a *Scutage* was assessed at 3 Marks for the Army in *Poitou*. Thus in the space of 17 years the State was delivered but thrice from *Impositions*.

In the time of *Henry* the third, <sup>q</sup> upon the Clergie, Nobility and Gentry there was assessed 15 *Scutages*; one at 10 shillings, two at 20, eight at two Marks, and 4. at 40 shillings the

the Knights Fee, <sup>a</sup> The land of the inferiour sort <sup>a</sup> *Mat. Paris*;  
twice taxed; first at 2 shillings, after at half <sup>& ex Rot.</sup>  
a Mark the Plough. <sup>b</sup> And two Tallages upon *Claus. & fi-*  
the land of the Crown. <sup>c</sup> From out of the Lay *nium an. 12,*  
Subjects moveable goods hath been taken *13, 15, & 19,*  
5 times: as the 40. the 30. 20. and 15. parts, *Hen. 3. & ex*  
d and once the 16. of the Clergie for this King. *lib. Chart.*  
e A Tenth he 9. times imposed upon the Church: *Cantuar.*  
fix times for a yeare onely, and by it self; once *Episc.*  
accompanied with the First-Fruits; once for *b Rot. Pat.*  
3. yeares; and once for 5. <sup>f</sup> Besides 2. Aides, the *anno 8. H. 5.*  
one moderate, the other called <sup>g</sup> *gravis exactio*, *c Ex Tho.*  
a heavy exaction, and worthily, if to the 800. <sup>& Mat. Pa.</sup>  
Marks imposed upon <sup>b</sup> *S. Edmunds Bury* all the *ris. Claus.*  
other *Abbeys* were rated accordingly. <sup>i</sup> And *anno 19. H. 3.*  
by the accompt of *Willihelmus de Midleton* <sup>d Ex Mat.</sup>  
<sup>k</sup> he received in the time of his government *Westmonast.*  
*exitu Indaismi 4020000 l.* And as in all the <sup>c Ex Statuto</sup>  
56. yeares of his reign (excepting five) either *anno 4. c. 17.*  
the Church or Common-wealth were charged *Dors. claus.*  
with contribution-money to relieve the expence *anno 16. H. 3.*  
of war; so were they grieved with other <sup>& Eversden.</sup> *Ex lib. Can-*  
*ctures*, either for Carriages, or *Vitnualls*, or per- *tuar. Episc.*  
sonall attendance. In the 16. yeare the inha- <sup>g Ex Evers-</sup>  
bitants of *Winchelsey* were enjoyned <sup>ut pro-</sup> *den & Paris.*  
*viderent decem bonas naves & magnas ad trans-* <sup>b Ex Mat.</sup>  
*fertandum in Pictaviam in servitium Regis*, to *Paris & E-*  
provide ten good and stout ships for the Kings *versden &*  
service in *Poitou*. <sup>m</sup> And at another time 20. *Dors. claus.*  
*Dunwich* and *Ipswich* 5. a piece, and the Ports *anno 16. H. 3.*  
proportionable, all at their own charge. In the <sup>i Ex Walt.</sup>  
same yeare <sup>n</sup> and for the same service there was *Gisborn.*  
transported 10000 quart. of wheat, 5000 of <sup>k Rad. ci-</sup>  
oates, and many Bacons. The Church not for- *strensis, ex E-*  
<sup>& lib. Chart. Cant. Archiep. anno 8. H. 6.</sup> <sup>l Ex Joan. Eversden, Pat.</sup>  
<sup>th. 3. E. 1. m. 26. n Rot. claus. an. 16. Henr. 3. n Ex H. Mat. Par. p. 17.</sup>

- born in those charges: For from Winchester a 2000 quarters of Wheat and Oates, and  
 a *Ex Rot. lib.* anno 16. H. 3. 1000 of Bacons was taken. b The other Bishops and Clergie bearing their parts of victualls in the like Exactions, coming—*ut unda supervenit unda: ac si esset Anglia puteus inexhaustus*, as wave follows wave, as it England  
 c *Dors. claus.* were a pit never to be drawn dry. c In the 12. anno 14. H. 3. and 14. the King levieth Souldiers for his wars beyond Sea, collecting *pro Exercitu suo de finibus duabus Hidis cur.* upon every two Hides so much for his Army, and to bring *secum victualia* victualls with them: and those for whose service the King dispenced, *et quos Rex vult remanere in partibus suis*, and such as he pleased should continue at home, to contribute victualls to those that went for 40. dayes: commanding the Sheriffs d to sweare all *Arma qui post eum remanebant in Anglia, in forma qua jurati fuerant tempore Ioannis Patris sui*, to Armes, who stayed behind him in England, after the manner they were sworn in the time of King Iohn his father; by which Ordinance of King Iohn all able Subjects from Youth to decrepite Age were bound to arm themselves, and be in continuall readinesse, e *sero usque ad mane* from night to morning, (for so the Record is) to attend the Kings pleasure And therefore Henry the third in anno 14  
 f *Claus. an. 14.* mandavit Vicecomitibus quod venire faciant ad exercitum Regis homines juratos adferunt, commanded the Sheriffs to send all those to his Army who had been so sworn, bringing with them *Loricis, Habergiones, &c.* Coats of Maile, Habergeons, &c. And to such as neglected this service he sent his Writs, reprehending  
 then



them at first, a *jurgatorie e quod*, &c. partly <sup>a</sup> *claus. in*  
 for that, &c. and after fining them according *Dorso, an. 15.*  
 to their abilities and Tenures. Taking <sup>b</sup> *an. 26. Hen. 3.*  
 of *Willihelm. de Umsfrevile pro quietatione pas-* <sup>b</sup> *Rot. finium*  
*sagii*, for the securing of his passage into *Gas-* <sup>26. H. 3. m. 4.</sup>  
*coign* 100 Marks; and so in proportion of many  
 others.

*Edward* the first exacted from the land of his *Edward 1.*  
 Subjects 4. times *Scutage*, assessed every time  
 at 40. shillings the Knights Fee. And once an  
 Aide called *Auxilium novum*, a new Aide,  
 which he farmed out for ready money. Of the  
 Rents of the Clergie he took a Tenth part twice  
 for one yeare, and once for six; and the 20. part  
 twice from both the *Provinces*, and once for  
 two yeares from *Canterbury* only.

The possessions of the *Priors Aliens* he seized  
 once into his own hands, putting the *Monks* to  
 a bare Pension of 18. pence a week. Of the  
 goods of the Clergie he took the 30. the 15.  
 and the 5. part once, the *Moiety* three times, and  
 the Tenth seven times; whereof the *Grant*  
 was first for two yeares, and then for three  
 yeares, and once for six yeares. <sup>c</sup> Of the goods of *Rot. Pat.*  
 the Commons the 8. the 9. and the 12. part he *anno 25. E. 1.*  
 took once, twice severally the 10. and 11. the *m. 3. sced.*  
 (for *Sessors* being sworn to levy and rate truly. Three  
 times he had the 15. part, and once the moiety  
 of a 15. From the Clergie and *Laiety* together  
 the King had granted of their *Moveables* a 10.  
 a 15. and a 30. part. Of the Cities and *Bo-*  
*roughs*, besides a great Loan, once the 7. and 8.  
 and twice the 6. part. From the *Merchants* a 20.  
 and a 7. portion once of their *Commodities*;  
 imposing a new *Custom* of a Noble upon every  
 Sack of *Wooll* which he let out to Farm. And

under pretence of some breach of Amity with those parts whether his Merchants traded, he seized *anno 22.* all the Woolls into his hands, and made of them instant Sale to the best value, leaving them upon security to a short price and a long day of payment. He took <sup>b</sup> the same yeare, to the distaste of the Pope and murmure of the Clergie, all the money gathered in *subsidium Terra Sancta*, for the succour of the Holy Land, to furnish his Journeyes. Upon the persons of his Subjects he imposed one Tallage, <sup>c</sup> assessed either in *communi* in generall, or *per capita* by the Poll. And twice the like upon the *Jews*: whereof the one amounted to 50000 Marks. Neither were his people by continuall payment (for there was but one yeare of intermission all his Reign) freed from attendance in their Persons. For in record there appeareth plentifully his writs to the Sheriffes: as <sup>d</sup> *an. 31. de peditibus eligendis de tota Anglia*, for the chusing of foot-Souldiers throughout all *England*; and to be found and furnished by their severall Countreyes: calling <sup>e</sup> his *Earls, Barons* and *Knights* to personall service according to their Tenures.

Edward 2.

His Son the second *Edward* assessed upon the lands of his Subjects twice *Scutage*; once at two Marks, & once at 40. sh. the Knights Fee. From the Revenues of the Clergie rated by the book of Tenth, he at distinct times took 4<sup>d</sup>. 5<sup>d</sup>. and 12<sup>d</sup>. in the Mark; and once the 15. part of the whole. From the goods of the Clergie a Tenth for three yeares. And twice <sup>f</sup> a Loan from the Abbots and Bishops. From the Layetie (besides a Tallage of their Moveables) in Cities and Boroughs once a Tenth, twice a 15. and twice a

20. part

20. part of their goods. Besides a Loan from the Commons, and 10. shillings borrowed upon every Sack of Wooll from Merchant Strangers, and a Noble from others. <sup>a</sup> From the <sup>a</sup> *claus. 16.* Clergy and Layetie together of their goods <sup>a</sup> *E. 2. claus.* Tenth, a 15. and twice an 18. part, besides <sup>anno 12. E. 2.</sup> a Loane. He augmented his fathers new Customs with an Imposition of a Noble more upon every Sack of Wooll. And <sup>anno 10.</sup> <sup>b</sup> *quia* <sup>b</sup> *Ex memor.* *exitus Regni sui & terrarum*, because the profits <sup>Secii. an. 10.</sup> of his Realm and dominions elsewhere, together with all the money granted by the Church <sup>E. 2. ex parte</sup> and Layetie, <sup>Rem. The sawr.</sup> *ad sumptus Belli sufficere noluit*, was not enough to defray the charges of his wars, and that he must *infinitam pecuniam effundere*, spend a vast deal of mony; he lesseth and increaseth an Imposition upon all Commodities inward and outward to an extreme Rate; and caused the Commons in every Shire to lay down money *in deposito* to pay his Souldiers; and took from the Nobility and Gentry a large contribution towards his wars; and seized <sup>c</sup> *omnes* <sup>c</sup> *Rot. Vascon.* *Lanas & Coria Mercatorum*, <sup>anno 22. E. 2.</sup> *data securitate* <sup>m. 13. in sced.</sup> *Possessoribus derationabili pretio postea solvendo*, All the Wools and Hides of the Merchants, giving security to the Owners that a reasonable price should be paid for them afterwards. He charged the Ports and Sea-Townes 12. severall yeares *ad costas suos & sumptibus villarum*, at their own costs, and the charge of the Villages about them, (as the Record saith) to set to Sea in his service Ships furnished *Armis & victualibus*, with Armes and Victualls; some- <sup>d</sup> *Rot. Scot.* <sup>anno 11. m. 19</sup> times for one month, as <sup>e</sup> *Rot. Scot.* <sup>anno 12. m. 8.</sup> *anno 11.* <sup>d</sup> sometimes <sup>f</sup> *Rot. Par.* <sup>anno 4. E. 2.</sup> for 4. as <sup>c</sup> 12. and sometimes for 7. as <sup>f</sup> *anno 4.* the number of Ships more or lesse as occasion

- <sup>a</sup> *Dors. claus.* required. In *an. 17.* <sup>a</sup> *Southampton* was charged with six, and *118.* Sea-Towns more with rateable proportions for the Kings service.
- <sup>b</sup> *claus. anno 18. m. 34.* Sometimes, as *anno 18.* <sup>b</sup> embarguing all the Ships in any Port that were of forty Tunnes upwards, or of 50. Tunnes and upward, as *an. 20.* <sup>c</sup> *contra hostiles aggressus Gallorum*, against the hostile attempts of the French. Causeing the town of *Southampton* *anno 6.* <sup>d</sup> to build a Galley for himself of 120. Oares. Commanding all the Sheriffes for provision of Victuall, as *anno c 1, 2, 3, 4, 9.* to provide *de Exitibus. Comitatum certum pretium*, at the charge of the County a certain Rate, to the proportion sometimes of 30500 *Quarters* of Corn and many Bacons, as *anno 16.* <sup>f</sup> and to send them to the Kings Army. As also *3 Carretta & Carra cum Equis & Bobus*, Carts and Waggons with Oxen and Horses out of the Countyes severally for the use of war. Sometimes he made the Ports to send provision themselves, as *anno 7.* <sup>h</sup> and not to suffer any Ships with victualls <sup>i</sup> *ibidem* <sup>discariari</sup>, to be there unladed, but to order them by security for those parts where the Kings Army was lodged.
- And not sparing the Church, exacted <sup>k</sup> his three first yeares *Frumenta & alia victualia pro exercitu suo*, Corn and other Victualls for his Army from them.
- Besides the former Charges, the Persons of Men, as well of the Nobility as meaner rank, were at their own Charge often enjoyned to serve by reason of the wars. <sup>l</sup> As in 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 16. <sup>m</sup> of this King, when they were called *singulatim* man by man, as well Widowes as Knights <sup>n</sup> and Noblemen, and such as held
- <sup>c</sup> *Ex Rot. V. as-son. m. 29.*  
<sup>d</sup> *claus. an. 6. E. 2.*  
<sup>e</sup> *Rot. Scot. anno 1, 2, 3. m. 10. & an. 4. m. 5. & an. 9. & Rot. pat. anno 10. m. 12.*  
<sup>f</sup> *Rot. Pat. an. 16. m. 3.*  
<sup>g</sup> *Rot. Scotie anno 8. m. 9.*  
<sup>h</sup> *Rot. Scot. Dorso, anno 7. m. 8.*  
<sup>i</sup> *Dorso claus. anno 16. m. 3.*  
<sup>k</sup> *Rot. Scotie anno 1, 2, 3. m. 8.*  
<sup>l</sup> *Rot. Scotie anno 8. E. 2. Dorso. claus. anno 9.*  
<sup>m</sup> *claus. an. 16 E. 2.*  
<sup>n</sup> *Ex Dorso. claus. 7. E. 2. m. 7.*

held 40. l. land according to their Tenures, <sup>a</sup> *claus. an. 16.*  
<sup>a</sup> *sub forisfactura terrarum & Catallorum E-* <sup>m. 20.</sup>  
*quis & Armis, sumptibus propriis*, to appear <sup>b</sup> *Ex Pater-*  
 with Horse and Armes, at their own charge, <sup>c</sup> *culo de Aug.*  
 under penalty of forfeiting their Lands and <sup>c</sup> *claus. an. 16.*  
 Chattels; & to provide *de hominibus ad Arma* <sup>m. 11. & cla.</sup>  
*ultra famulos suos consuetos*, men for the ser- <sup>an. 15. m. 19.</sup>  
 vice besides their ordinary Servants: according <sup>d</sup> *Rot. Scotie*  
 to Augustus <sup>b</sup> rule, *Viri Fœminaque ex Censu* <sup>anno 3. E. 2.</sup>  
*coacta dare Militem*, both men and women <sup>m. 8. Dorso.</sup>  
 were forced to find their Souldiers. And of this <sup>e</sup> *Rot. Scotie*  
 the clergie was not exempted <sup>c</sup> *anno 16. of this* <sup>f</sup> *Rot. Pat. an.*  
 King. And out of every town one *sumptibus* <sup>15. m. 19.</sup>  
*propriis*, at their own charges, for 40. dayes, as <sup>g</sup> *Rot. Scotie*  
*anno 15. 1. or for 60. as anno 9. 1. or pro 7. Se-* <sup>anno 12. m. 13</sup>  
*primanis* for 7. weeks, as *anno 4.* <sup>d</sup> Sometimes <sup>b</sup> *claus. an. 18*  
 1000. in one Countrey, as *anno 3.* <sup>c</sup> Sometimes <sup>m. 13.</sup>  
 an entire Army of 18300. *an. 11. and 48800.* <sup>i</sup> *Rot. Pat.*  
 at the charge of all the Countyes *anno 15.* <sup>an. 16. m. 17.</sup>  
 g *London sumptibus Civitatis* at the Cities <sup>k</sup> *Rot. Pat.*  
 charge, found 500. men for 40. dayes *anno 12.* <sup>anno 9. m. 12.</sup>  
 and the like *anno 18. contra insultus Regis* <sup>Dors. Cla. 10.</sup>  
*Francie*, against the invasions of the King of <sup>m. 26. claus.</sup>  
*France.* <sup>i</sup> The King commanded *anno the 16.* <sup>anno 15. m. 13</sup>  
 that all of 40. shil. land & upwards should rate- <sup>Rot. Pat.</sup>  
 ably send to his service men; <sup>k</sup> And *annis 9.* <sup>anno 16. m. 27</sup>  
 10, 15, and 16. that all *jurati ad arma*, sworn <sup>amo 13. m. 2.</sup>  
 to Armes, or from 16. to 60. *secundum Statu-* <sup>m</sup> *Dors. claus.*  
*tum Wincestræ*, according to the Statute of <sup>anno 6. m. 28.</sup>  
 Winchester, should attend their Services. <sup>l</sup> And <sup>Rot. Scotie</sup>  
*anno 13.* enjoined all from 20. to 60. to be <sup>anno 7. m. 2.</sup>  
 armed and victualled at their own charge. <sup>claus. anno 8.</sup>  
<sup>m</sup> And commanded the Sheriffs *annis 6. 7. 8.* <sup>m. 30.</sup>  
 12. 16. and 18. to see all the able men of En- <sup>claus. an. 16.</sup>  
 gland so furnished, that *Parati sint & muniti* <sup>m. 12.</sup>  
<sup>Rot. Scotie</sup>

*anno 12. m. 6. Rot. Pat. anno 18. m. 28.*

D 4

ad



*ad veniendum ad Regem quando vocati fuerint*, they should be provided and in a readines to march to the King when he should call them, their weapons to be provided *ad sumptus Incolarum*, at the charge of their neighbour dwellers; and themselves enioyne to muster and train every fix weeks. If any neglected his appointed service, there was sent to the Sheriff a writ *de habendo illos coram Concilio*, qui *præmoniti non venerunt in expeditione Regis*, to bring them before the Councel, who knowing of it before, refused the expedition, as anno 15. 1. the parties imprisoned, and their goods seized into the Kings hands, as <sup>b</sup> anno 9. et 16. or else redemption by fine, as the <sup>c</sup> Sheriffes of Buckingham and Bedford did their men for 600. Marks anno 15. The owner of 40. shillings land to redeem his first default <sup>d</sup> *cum tertia parte Bonorum*, with the 3. part of his Goods; the second, *cum tota residua*, with the remaining parts; at the third, *sint Corpora eorum ad voluntatem Regis*, their Bodiesto be at the Kings disposall; and of Knights, *qui non fuerunt in exercitu Regis*, 20. l. *de qualibet Hida*, which were not in the Kings Army, 20. l. for every Hide, as <sup>e</sup> anno 13.

<sup>a</sup> Rot. claus.  
anno 15. E. 2.  
m. 14.  
Rot finium:  
anno 15. m. 16

<sup>b</sup> Rot. claus.  
anno  
Rot. Pat.  
anno 16. m. 12

<sup>c</sup> Rot. claus.  
anno 15. m. 19  
<sup>d</sup> Rot. Scotie  
anno 13. E. 2.  
m. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Claus. an. 13  
m. 20.

I have the longer insisted upon this King, that *tanquam in speculo*, as in a glasse we may behold the intolerable miseries of the Nobility and Commons inseparably accompanying the times of war.

Edward 3.

<sup>f</sup> Pat. an. 48.  
E. 3. m. 10.

Edward the third charged the lands of his Subjects twice 40. shillings of every Knights Fee; and 5. l. 16. shillings of every Parish in the 48. yeare of his Reign. Out of the Goods of the Commons he took once the 9. part, and 15<sup>th</sup> of

of Forest and Wast; twice the tenth, thirteen times a fifteenth for one yeare, and twice for three yeares: and once the 20. part of all moveables, and 30000. Sacks of Wooll upon conditions. Of the *Boroughs and Cities*, 4. Tenths, and one for three yeares. From the *Lords* the tenth Sheaf, Lambe, and Fliece: who with the Bishops and Knights grant 20000. Sacks of Wooll for payment of the Kings debts, giving in the *interim* security themselves by Bond to the *Earle of Brittain*, to whom their Sovereign stood ingaged. Of the *Clergy* alone one Tenth for 4. yeares, three for three yeares, and one for one yeare. Besides a Contribution in the 12. of his Reign, seizing in the same yeare all the Goods of the *Cluny and Cistercian Monks*. Of the *church and Laity* together he received 6. times the 10. of all their Moveables. From the *Merchants and State* a Subsidy of Wool for 3. yeares. Imposing *anno* 33. 26. shil. 8<sup>d</sup>. upon every Sack transported: which doubled the Impositions of his Father and Grandfather. Advancing it after for 6. yeares to 40. shillings; and in *an.* 38. (being the yeare he resumed his Stile of *France*,) to 46. shillings 4<sup>d</sup>. the Sack of Wooll. Taking Poundage 6<sup>d</sup>. of all Commodities inward and outward, and enjoyning the Marchants for every Sampler of Wooll transported to return in 40. shillings Bullion to his Minte. a Himself becoming Merchant of <sup>a</sup> *Ex Rot. Al.* all the Tinne in *Devonshire and Cornwall* *man. an. 12.* *anno* 12. in *auxilium supportationis onerum* *m. 17.* *Belli*, to help him bear the burthen of his wars: assessing upon the heads of his Subjects a fine of 4<sup>d</sup>. severally *anno* 51. Besides in <sup>b</sup> *anno* 20. he <sup>b</sup> *Claus. an. 20* took a Loane of the Bishops, Abbots, Justices, <sup>E. 3. m. 22.</sup> *in dorso.* <sup>et</sup>

*et aliis potentioribus Regni, de diversis pecuniarum Summis inter Summas de 1000. l. & 40. l. and other wealthy men of his Realm, in several summes of mony, betwixt the summes of 1000. l. and 40. l.*

<sup>a</sup> *Claus. an. 1.* In the first of his Reign <sup>a</sup> he commandeth all *E. 3. Rot. Sco.* the Sea-towns to attend with Ships his service, *anno 1. E. 3.* *sumptibus propriis & duplici Eskippamento,*

<sup>b</sup> *Claus. an. 2.* at their own proper charge, and with double Skippage, and to provide as many as they can of 60. Tun and upwards. And the yeare following <sup>b</sup> layeth the like charge upon 76. Port-Townes for all Ships of 40. Tunne and more. *E. 3.*

<sup>c</sup> *Claus. an. 10* And *anno 10.* <sup>c</sup> the like at their own charge, besides <sup>a</sup> contribution of mony, <sup>d</sup> for payment whereof the Officers are commanded, *ut eas*

<sup>d</sup> *Rot. Scotie* *per distractiones & alias punitiones prout expedire viderint compellent,* to force it by distraining, and what other punishments they shall find expedient. Injoyning such Merchants of London, *qui ex transmarinis passagiis lucra adquirunt,* who had traffick in forreign parts, to furnish Ships for war at their own Charge. *anno 10.*

*m. 9. & Rot. Alman. an. 12.* <sup>e</sup> And *anno* the thirteenth the Cinque-Ports set out to sea 30. Ships, and maintain them during the service, half at their own, half at the Countells charge. Fourscore Ships being furnished & defrayed by the Out-Ports, the Admirall directed to embargue all other Ships for the Kings service. *m. 12.*

<sup>e</sup> *Rot. Scotie* <sup>f</sup> And although the Subject found this an infinite grievance, yet could he (upon humble complaint in Parliament) receive no further relief, then that the King would not have it otherwise then before. *anno 13. E. 3.*

<sup>f</sup> *Rot. Scotie* <sup>g</sup> For Provision of his Armes, the King took at one time, and at a rate of losse to the Subject, *anno 10. E. 3.*

<sup>g</sup> *Rot. Alman.* *m. 15.*

*m. 2.*

19000.

19000. quarters of Grain, 2200. Oxen salted, & 2000. Bacons; besides of other Provisions an infinite quantity. <sup>a</sup> The like very frequent all his <sup>a</sup> Rot. Scotie Reign, *pro guerris necessariis, ubi id magis com-* anno 10. m. 17 *mode fieri poterat*, for the necessities of his wars, where it could be done with more conveniency.

The Persons of all his meaner Subjects from 16. to 60. he causeth <sup>b</sup> to be armed in readines <sup>b</sup> Rot. Scotie *ad pramonitionem 5. dierum*, at 5. dayes war- anno 1. m. 2. ning; the Decrepite to contribute *ad expensa premiſſorum*, towards the expenses of the rest: and to arrest the Bodies of the disobedient, that *de ipsis tanquam de inimicis sumat vindictam*, they might be dealt withall as enemies. <sup>c</sup> The <sup>c</sup> Rot. Scotie Gentry and Nobility supplying the King in anno 1. his wars, and at their own Charge, <sup>d</sup> sometimes <sup>d</sup> Parla. an. 13 E. 3. Parla. with 7. or 800. men at Armes, and 2. or 3000 <sup>e</sup> anno 14. E. 3. Archers, as anno 13. with other proportions at divers yeares following. And the Bishops ordered <sup>e</sup> to furnish *Armis & Equis competentibus*, <sup>e</sup> Rot. Franc. serviceable Armes and Horses, so many as oc- anno 46. cation required: and their Persons (together with the Laye Nobility) commanded <sup>f</sup> *quod & Claus. an. 1. sint parati Equis & Armis & toto servitio* E. 3. m. 1. *debito*, with Horse and Armes and all necessary accoutrements to attend the King in his wars.

These wars (which as Edward the third professeth himself in Parliament, <sup>g</sup> could not with- <sup>g</sup> Parl. an. 22. out his great danger and losse of Honour be E. 3. n. 9. maintained, unlesse by perpetuall Aide from the Subjects) were so grievousto them, that in anno 22. they complain in Parliament of the miseries they underwent thereby: As of their Aides advanced to 40. shillings Fine, that by law should be but 20. shil. Their setting forth of men, and the Kings taking of their Victualls without

without payment; The Sea left to the charge of their keeping, and from their woolls by way of Subsidy 60000. *l.* yearly exacted without Law; besides the lending of 2000. Sacks, and themselves restrained from transporting any. But such was the Necessity of these times, that neither they had redresse of their Complaint, nor the State one yeare discharged of Contribution all his Reign.

Richard 2.  
a *Parl. an.* 2.  
& 14. *Rot.* 2.  
n. 8.

*Richard* succeeding his Grandfather declareth both <sup>a</sup> *anno* 2. and 14. that the great Wars he was left in, and the Territories he inherited beyond Sea could not be maintained, except the Subject of this Realm gave supply of means thereto. He therefore of the Clergie and Laity took once the tenth of all their lands, and thrice of the goods of the Commons the like entirely, and six times the half, twelve times a fifteenth, and six times the Moiety: And had *anno* 21. granted one Tenth to him, and a 15. and a half of either of them yearly for term of life. From out the Boroughs and Cities thrice a full Tenth, and once a Moiety. Out of all Merchandises he received three years 6d. in the pound, and once twelve pence. And for every Tunne of Wine, and such Commodities, for 2. yeares 6d. doubling it for as many, and trebling it for three yeares after. The Custome of Woolls, &c. by *Edward* the first rated at a Noble the Sack, and under his son increased as much more, was to this King advanced to 22. shil. 8d. which singly for 8 yeares he had granted unto him, besides once for 3. yeares, and once for 4. having it after improved to 34. shil. 4d. and again to 42. shil. 4d. the Sack. The summe of one of these Subsidies in *anno* 14. amounted to 160000. *l.* From out of



of the goods of the Clergie he had 8. Tenths and a half; and one out of those and the Laiety together; besides a Loan *anno* 5. of 60000. *l.* By the poll or heads of all his people from above 15. yeares, he collected twice a Contribution, assessed proportionall from the Begger to the Duke: Besides in strength of *Prærogative* only, of every Ship and Fisherman 6<sup>d</sup>. the Tun: the like of *Newcastle* Coals, and of every Last of Corn inwards or outwards the like Summe.

To furnish his journey for *Ireland* he took their Horses, Armour, Cattell. <sup>a</sup> *Hinc factus a Rot. Pat. est suis Subditis invisus*, Hereupon he came *anno* 2. *R. 2.* to be hated by his People, saith the Bishop of *m. 3.* *London*. And so it seemed: For at his deposing, it was one of the objected Articles against him.

He the first yeare of his Reign imposed upon his Subjects, as formerly his Ancestours had done, a personall service *ab anno primo*, That all the Clergy should array *Armis & Equis competentibus*, with serviceable Horses and Armes, from the age of 16. to 60. *et eos in Militenis & Centenis poni faciant*, and cause them to be entred into Regiments and Companies. And two yeares after commanded all according to their Tenures by service to fit themselves *Equis & Armis*, with Horse and Armes to attend the wars. But these the courses of elder times were about this time much altered, and the King for the most part ever supplied in his wars by contract with the Nobility and Gentry, to serve him with so many men, and so long, and at such a rate as he and they by Indenture accorded; of which there are in the *Pell* plenty yet remaining. Thus under grievous burdens did

did the State labour continually all his time; for his Treasury being wastfully emptied, was, <sup>a</sup> *Tacit. lib. 2.* as *Tacitus* saith of *Tiberius*, <sup>a</sup> *Scelere replendum*, to be filled some ill way; by which he meant intolerable racking of the people. Hence was it that often in this Kings time <sup>b</sup> the Subjects humbly beg some ease of the insupportable Tallages.

<sup>b</sup> *Rot. Parl. annis 3, 4, & 5. R. 2.*

<sup>c</sup> *Rot. Parl. anno 1. H. 4. n. 32.*

But he little regarding the tears or groans of his heartlesse People, answered them as *an. 4.* That their Petition and his Honour could not consist together. <sup>c</sup> They again plead extreme poverty, in barre of further relief; complaining that good mony was transported, and the State enforced to use base; and that the price of Wooll by warrs (to their utter impoverishing) was fallen, and that the Kings want was onely the ill government of his Revenues; and therefore crave to have his present Officers removed: and very hardly would be drawn any more to tax themselves, but conditionally, and with this Limitation, That their mony should be received, expended, and accompted for to themselves, and by Treasurers of their own election; and are content to lend in the end; loading this poor Kings dejected Fortune with the reproachfull weight of these their many Burthens.

Henry 4.

*Henry* the fourth in 13. yeares out of the land of his people received twice relief; once *auxilia de medietate Feodorum*, an Aide of the Moiety of the Fees, and again a Noble out of every 20. *l.* throughout all the Realm. Out of the Goods of the Commons 4 times a Tenth, besides one for 3. yeares, and the like one and a half for 2. By severall grants and yeares five Fifteens, besides one for 2, and one for 3. yeares, Out of Staple Com-

Commodities of Wooll, Fells, &c. one Subsidy for one yeare, foure for two apiece, and one for 3. yeares. A Poundage at 8<sup>d</sup>. once, four times 12<sup>d</sup>. whereof the last was for 2. yeares. The like number and yeares of the Tunnage, the first onely rated at 2. shil. the rest at 3. shil. the Tun. Out of the Moveables of the Clergie thrice a Tenth, and twice a Moiety; as also of every stipendary Minister, Frier, and such manner persons 6. shil. 8<sup>d</sup>. apiece. Besides all these of all hetook *an. 8. a<sup>2</sup>* Contribution *ita gravis*, <sup>a Hist. Tho.</sup> *ut Evidentia post datum Computum cremarentur*, <sup>VValsingham</sup> upon this condition, that it should not be made an Example to following times, and that after the Account the Evidences should be burnt.

Next him succeeded his Son the 5. Henry; in Henry 5. whose 9. yeares Reign I find no charge imposed upon the Land of the Subjects. Out of the Goods of the Commons he received 6. times the 10. and the 15. entirely, and once two thirds onely of Staple wares; a Subsidy once for 4. yeares, and after for life: three shillings Tunnage, and 12<sup>d</sup>. Poundage for the like terms as the former Subsidies. Thrice he had the Tenth of his Clergie. And in the eighth of his Reign, when the *Chancellour* bewailed to him in Parliament the Feebleness and Poverty of the People by reason of wars and scarcity of mony, he (who of as many attempts as he undertook, *totidem fecit Monumenta victoria*, raised himself so many Monuments of Victory,) yet for redresse and ease of those miseries (as *Livy* saith of an excellent Souldier) *Pacem voluit etiam quia vincere potuit*, he preferred Peace  
be-

Henry 6.

because he knew he could overcome. And left in the 9. yeare of his Reign a peaceable succession and *Heire*, *nimum felix malo suo*, too happy to his own undoing, as the event proved. For retaining nothing *ex paterna Majestate prater speciem nominis*, of his Father's Greatness more then the specious Name of a Great King, by Fear and Facility he laid the way open to his Factious Ambitious kindred, to work themselves into popular Favour, and himself into Contempt: which was soon done by leading the easy King by Expence into Extremity. For besides the Resumptions he took of his own and Fathers Grants, (which was of purpose plotted to make a consumption of Duty and Affection towards him) he out of the old inheritance of his Subjects exacted 6<sup>d</sup>. in the pound *anno* 14. and doubled twice that valuation, not onely on all lands purchased from the entrance of *Edward* the first, but of all Freehold and Coppy-hold under 200. *l*. and two in twenty of all above. He further imposed first 6. *shil*. 8<sup>d</sup>. and then 20. *shil*. upon every Knights Fee. Out of the goods of the Commons he had 6. Tenths, whereof one for 3. yeares, besides 3. Moieties, and one third; of fiftens 3. halfs, one third, and eight entire, of which there was of two a 3 yeares grant. Besides these former, out of the woells he had 37107<sup>l</sup>. raised by a Moieity of a 10<sup>th</sup>. and 15<sup>th</sup>. and again of all goods 6. *shil*. 8<sup>d</sup>. in the pound. Of the Merchant of Subsidies rated as in former times, he had then by grant once but for a yeare; trebled for three and a half. This Subsidy advanced to 33. *shil*. 4<sup>d</sup>. of *Denisons*, and 53. *shil*. 4<sup>d</sup>. of *Aliens*. The Sack of Wooll was twice granted for 4. years

at

at a time, and *an.* 31. for term of the Kings life. Besides a Subsidy alone of *Aliens* goods, Tonnage and Poundage improved to six shillings 8<sup>d</sup>. he took in his 18. yeares. And after the Rates of his Fathers time he had it first thrice by his severall grants and yeares, then as often for two yeares, and again by a new grant for 5. yeares, and in the end for term of his life. Of the Clergy he had besides one half of *Dismes*, 4. entire Tenths. And by the State in generall *anno* 31. 2000. Archers maintained for half a yeare at the common Charge. By the *Poll* he exacted *anno* 18. of every Merchant Stranger if a householder 16. shillings a piece, if none 6<sup>d</sup>. And *anno* 27. 6. shillings 8<sup>d</sup>. every such stranger, and 20<sup>d</sup>. of their Clerks. *An.* 13. he had granted for term of life ten pounds a year of all Inhabitants mere *Aliens*, and a third lesse of *Demizons*, and 20 shil. of every Stranger Merchant that came into the land. The first *Monopolies* I find were grouned upon the extremities of these times; for in *anno* 29. the *Spinellos*, Merchants of *Genna*, had by grant for 8000. *l.* the sole Trade of many Staple-Commodities. As the Merchants of *Southampton* had all *Allome* for the like summe. Yet for all the Contributions, Taxes and Shifts, (whereby the impoverished People were enforced to petition redresse; for which a Parliament was *anno* 10. summoned onely,) the Kings Coffers were so empty, and the yearly Revenues so short, as the Lord Treasurer was constrained *an.* 11. to *Rot. Parl.* complain in Parliament of the one, and declared there the other to want 35000. *l.* of the needfull expence, as the best motive to work a Relief from the Common-wealth; which was

E by

*Nota First monopolies.*

*an.* 11. *H. 6.*



<sup>a</sup> Rot. Parl. by the people in part effected. <sup>a</sup> But by  
an. 18. Hen. 6. an. 18. the debts were swoln again so great,  
§. 38.

<sup>b</sup> Ex Pater-  
culo.

that the Parliament was reinforced not onely  
to see them, but to support and victuall his  
household. Thus was this unhappy Princes Reign  
all war and waste : and in the end, as one saith  
of <sup>b</sup> Lepidus, *à Militibus & à fortuna desereba-*  
*tur*, being forsaken both of Souldiers and For-  
tune, he was left a while to a disgraced life,  
*spoliata quam tueri non poterat dignitate*, and  
despoiled of that Dignity which he was not able  
to maintain.

Edward 4.

<sup>c</sup> Rot. Parl.  
an. 2. & 3.

E. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Placita Co-  
rone.

Edward the fourth, <sup>c</sup> besides two resumptions  
not only of the Grants of such Kings as he ac-  
counted *de facto*, and not *de jure* to Reign, but  
also of those made by <sup>d</sup> himself, and that Sea of  
profit that by infinite *Attaintures* flowed daily  
into his Treasury, took notwithstanding of the  
Lords Spirituall and Temporall onely a Tenth  
of their yearly possessions, and of the Commons  
six Tenths, three quarters ; and the like propor-  
tion of Fifteens: A *Benevolence* in an. 14. which  
<sup>e</sup> *Fabian* calleth a new Contribution: And  
charged them <sup>f</sup> anno 12. with wages of his  
Archersto a Summe of 51117. l. Of the Mer-  
chanthe had Tonnage and Poundage for term  
of life. Besides of Strangers, as well *Denizons* as  
others, a Subsidie the 22. yeare of his Reign,  
Leaving his Kingdome in the next to the few  
dayes of his son Edward the fifth. For

<sup>e</sup> Chron. Fa-  
biani.

<sup>f</sup> Rot. Parl.  
anno 12. E. 4.  
p. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Rot. Parl.

Edward 5.

Richard 3.

*Ostendunt terris hunc tantum Fata, nec ultra  
Esse sinunt.* — The Fates only shewed  
him to the world, and took him away again.

Richard his Uncle succeeded, *homo ingenio-*  
*ssime nequam*, & *facundus malo publico*, a  
man most ingeniously mischievous, and full of  
Art

Art to beguile the people. He to make a just semblance of his unjust entry, besides his Act of Parliament full of dangerous Untruths, dissembled the part of an excellent Prince, making the Commons believe by a Statute, to which he gave first form, as life, discharging them for ever from all exactions called *Benevolences*, that his opinion was, *Ditare majus esse Regium quam ditescere*, that it was more Kinglike to enrich his Subjects then to grow rich himself. Whereas he did but lively imitate *Nero*, that took away the law *Manlia de vectigalibus*, only *ut gratior esset populis*, to ingratiate himself the more with the people. And so all his short Reign I find recorded but once any Tax upon the people, and that was Tenths granted by the Clergy of both Provinces.

Henry the seventh succeeding, resumed in Henry 7. the 3. of his Reign mott of the grants of Office made by the Usurper his brother, & assessed upon the land onely of his Subjects but one Aide in an. 19. out of their Goods and Lands a tenth penny, and of their Goods onely 3. times the tenth, five Fifteens, besides a Tenth and Fifteenth arising to 120000. *l.* He took three Subsidies, whereof the last was not above 36000. *l.* <sup>a</sup> and a *Fabian*.

one *Benevolence*, the proportion of every Alderman being 300. *l.* and the entire Summe of the City of London 9688. *l.* 17. shillings 4<sup>d</sup>. Of the Clergie he had twice the Tenth, & 25000. *l.* by way of *Subsidie*. <sup>b</sup> And of them and the Commons 2. Loans; the City of London rated at 6000. *l.* the other not definite in proportion, but so assessed as Commissioners and the Lenders could agree.

<sup>b</sup> Ex litera missa Abbatibus. Barking manu Regis H. 7.

And as well to ease the expence of wars, as

<sup>a</sup> *Ex litera  
Ducis Nor-  
folciae.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ex lib. Ac-  
quit. int. Re-  
gem & Dud-  
ly R. C.*

Henry 8.

issue of the good money going over to Bullen,  
<sup>a</sup> he stamped an allayed Coyn then usually  
termed *Dandeprats*: A course that necessity af-  
ter enforced his Son and Successors to practice,  
and is an apparent *Symptome* of a consumed  
State. But that whereby he heaped up his masse  
of Treasure, (<sup>b</sup> for he left in Bullion 4. millions  
and a half, besides his Plate, Jewells, and rich  
attire of house) was by sale of Offices, redem-  
ption of Penalties, dispensing with Laws,  
and such like, to a yearly value of 120000.  
pounds.

His Successour, reaping the fruit of his Fathers  
labour, gave ease of burthen to the Subjects his  
first two years; taking within the compasse of  
his other 34. three Tenths of the Commons,  
four Fifteens, 6. Subsidies, whereof that *an. 4.*  
amounted to 16000. *l.* and that *an. 7.* 110000. *l.*  
*Tonnage* he had and *Poundage* once for a year,  
and after for term of Life. Of the Clergy 4.  
Tenths by one grant, and 3. by severall, every  
of them not lesse then 25084. *l.* Of *Subsidies* he  
had one of the Province of *Canterbury*, another  
of both; the *Stipendary* Ministers there to be  
taxed according to the rate of their wages. In  
*an. 22.* they granted a Moiety of all their Goods  
and Lands, payable by equal portion in 5. years,  
every part arising to 95000. *l.* to the yearly  
Revenues of his Crown, by an inhumane spoil  
of sacred Monuments, and impious ruine of holy  
Churches, if Gods blessing could have accom-  
panied so foul an Act. And as these former  
Collections he grounded upon Law, so did he  
many upon *Prærogative*: As *Benevolences* and  
Loans from the Clergy and Commons. Of the  
first there were two remarkable, that in *an. 17.*  
acted

acted by Commissioners, who as themselves were sworn to Secrecy, so were they to swear all those with whom they confere or contract. The Rates directed by instructions, as the thirds of all Goods, Offices, Land above 20. *l.* and the 4<sup>th</sup>. under. And although the Recusants (whether from Disobedience or Inability) are threatned with Convention before the Councell, Imprisonment, and Confiscation of Goods; yet in the <sup>a</sup> *Designe* Originall under the Kings hand, it hath so fair a name as an *Amicable Grant*. <sup>b</sup> *Ex originali signat. manu Regis.* The other about <sup>b</sup> *an.* 36. exacteth out of all Goods, Offices, land from 40. shillings to 20. *l.* <sup>b</sup> *Ex originali Instructione.* 8<sup>d</sup>. in the pound, and of all above, 12<sup>d</sup>. And amongst the many Loans, there is none more notorious then that of *an.* 14. <sup>c</sup> which was 10. *l.* <sup>c</sup> *Ex instruct. originali* in the hundred of all Goods, Jewels, Utensils, and land from 20. *l.* to 300. *l.* and twenty <sup>anno</sup> 14. H. 8. marks of all above, as far as the Subjects Fortune, revealed by the extremity of his own Oath, would extend. And to stop as well intentions if any had been, as expectations of repayment of such Loans, <sup>d</sup> the Parliament in <sup>Rot. Parl.</sup> *an.* 21. acquitteth the King of every Privy Seal *an.* 21. H. 8. or Letter *M. ssive*.

Edward the sixth his Son, besides Tonnage <sup>Edward 6.</sup> and Poundage for life, *an.* 1. received of his Lay-Subjects six Fifteens, and of both three Subsidies, leaving one of the Temporalty ungathered: which his Sister *Mary* remitted in *an.* 1. of her reign; yet after (incited by the French King succouring her Rebels, and suffering her money adulterated in his Dominions, purposely to be hither transported, as also to side the quarrell of *Philip* her husband against him) being drawn into wars, she was inforced to presse up-

Q. Mary.

on her people, and (besides the Loan in an. 1. for term of life granted unto her by *Parliament*) took five Fifteens of the Commons, and of them and the Clergie three years Subsidies.

**Q. Elizabeth** Her Sister of happy memory succeeding, besides divers Loans of her people and others in forraign parts, (as *anno* 5. when *William Herle* was dispatched into *Germany* to take up at Interest for 6. years great Summes of money, the like *an.* 18. from the Merchants of *Colen* and *Hamburgh* upon Bond of the City of *London*, and again of *Spinello* and *Pallavicini* upon the former security, strengthened with the assurance also of many of her chiefeft Councellors,) had by grant of her Subjects 38. Fifteens, 20. Subsidies of the Commons, and 18. of the Clergy. All which together rose to a summe of two Millions and 800000. l.

Princes extremities beyond the ease of their people by reason of wars.

Credit of Ks. so much impaired, that they could not borrow but upon surety and extreme interest.

<sup>a</sup> *Math. Paris.*

<sup>b</sup> *Rot. Pat.*

*anno* 13. E. 3.

m. 13.

**H**AVING thus far (with as light a hand as I could) drawn down the many and mighty burdens of the Common-wealth, if but with a touch of the Princes Extremities beyond the ease of these former helps I heighten up this draught, it will with much more life and lustre expresse the Figure of wars Misery. <sup>a</sup> The Credit of Kings it hath brought to so low an ebbe, that when by force of necessity they borrowed money, they could not take it up but by collateral security, and extreme Interest. As *Edward* the 2. in the Patent to <sup>b</sup> *William de la Poole* confesseth, that *propter defectum pecunie negotia sua fuerunt periculossissime retardata*, for want of money his affaires were dangerously delayed, (they are the words of the record) and the honour of him and his Royall Army

*magna*



*magna fuit depressioni patenter expositus, & progressus non sine dedecore suo perpetuo impeditus*, he was brought to a manifest low condition, and his proceedings to his great dishonour had been constantly hindered; if *De la Poole* had not as well supplied him with the credit of his Security, as with the best ability of his own Purse. For which service he honoured him and his posterity with the degree of *Baro. Notarius*, and 500. *l.* land of inheritance.

The interest of *Henry 3.* *ad plus quam centum quotidie libras adscenderat, ita ut immineret tam Clero quam Populo Anglia Desolatio & Ruina*, came to more then a hundred pound a day, so that present ruine & desolation hung over the heads as well of the Clergy as the People.

*Q. Mary* <sup>a</sup> borrowed in *Flanders* at 14. in the hundred, besides *Brocage* upon collateral security.

<sup>a</sup> *Ex Instruct. Thomæ Gre-sham; anno*

The late *Queene* was inforced <sup>b</sup> to the like thrice with Strangers upon the City of *Londons* assurance, as before, and with her <sup>c</sup> own Subjects after upon Mortgage of Land. A course more moderate then either that of the first *William*, that took out of Churches such money as severall men had committed thither for more security: <sup>d</sup> or that of *Charles* the fifth, that to

<sup>b</sup> 1557. *Ex Instruct. willielm. Herle* 16. *August. an. 5. Eliz. Similiter* <sup>c</sup> *Thomæ Gre-sham. 1563.* <sup>d</sup> 76.

repaire the waste of his *Italian* wars, went in person to *Barcilona*, to seize into his hands a Masse of money called *Deposum Tabula*, which as well Strangers as Subjects had there laid up in Sanctuary. But these are not the conditions of Princes of our times onely: for in the lives of *Caligula*, *Nero*, and *Vespasian*, *Suetonius* of them severally writeth, *Exhaustus*

<sup>d</sup> *Ex litera Edm. Lee orat. Regis H. 8. in Hisp. anno 28.*

& egenus calumniis rapinisque intendit animum, being drawn dry and grown poor, they bent their minds to Calumnies and Rapines. For *Perniciosa res est in Imperante tenuitas*, Want in a Prince is a dangerous thing; and as *Theodoricus* said, *Periculosissimum animal est Rex pauper*, a Poor King is the most dangerous creature living.

Kings enforced to abate their hospitality.

<sup>a</sup> *Ex Rot. Par.*  
18. H. 6.

<sup>b</sup> *Ex hist. majeri Math. Paris.*

It hath abated the Regalties of Houses; an. 16. of *Richard* the second, and 18.<sup>a</sup> of *Henry* 6. when as well from want of means, as the Subjects Petitions in Parliament, (for *Expediissima est ratio augendi Censuum detrachere Sumptibus*, the readiest way to raise the Revenue is to take down Expenses,) they have much lessened their Hospitality; their Tables being either defrayed by their Subjects, as of *Henry* the 6. or as *Henry* the 3. when by necessity <sup>b</sup> *ita consuetudine Regalis Mensae hospitalitas abbreviata fuit, ut (posita solita verecundia) cum Abbatibus, Clericis, & viris satis humilibus hospitibus quasvit & prandia*; the wonted hospitality of the Kings Table was sunk so low, that (without farther shame) he many times lodged and dined with Abbots, Clerks, and very mean Persons.

Kings enforced to pawn and sell their Dominions.

<sup>c</sup> *Rot. Pat.*  
anno 51. H. 3.  
m. 17.

<sup>d</sup> *Ex contratt. orig. & Hist. Norman.*

It hath caused our Kings to sell and alienate the possessions of the Crown: as *Henry* the 3. who gave to *Edward* his son *Licentiam impignorandi terram Vasconie*, leave to pawn the *Dutchie* of *Gascoign*; And caused himself not long after by the like occasions, to sell for 300000. l. (except some pittances reserved) the entire Signiorie of *Normandie*. What our late Mistris and her Father did, is yet fresh in memory. But this mischief hath trenched deep into

into the Fortunes and Affections of the Subjects, <sup>a</sup> Rot. Vasc. 5. when Princes to repair the breach of their own <sup>E. 2.</sup> Rot. Revenues, have often resumed the possessions of <sup>finium an. 8.</sup> their people; as <sup>a</sup> Edward the second anno 5, 8, <sup>Rot. cui titu-</sup> & 10. *Omnes donationes per Regem factas ad lus, extrah. damnum & diminutionem Regis & Corona sua, de donacionib.* all the Grants made by the King to the lessening <sup>a. 9. & 10. E. 2.</sup> and prejudicing of the King and his Crown. Kings enforced <sup>b</sup> Richard the second <sup>an. 1.</sup> did the like of all Resumption of their Grants made to unworthy persons by his Grand- of their father, and recalled all Patents dated since 40. Lands. of Edward 3. Thus did Henry <sup>c</sup> the 5. <sup>an. 1.</sup> <sup>b</sup> Rot. Parl. 7. and <sup>d</sup> Henry the 6. in the 28. of his Reign, <sup>anno 1. R. 2.</sup> Edward the 4. in <sup>an. 3.</sup> with all Offices of his <sup>c</sup> Rot. Parl. Crown granted either by the Usurper or his <sup>anno 1. Hen. 5</sup> Brother. Neither is this in it self unjust, since <sup>n. 12.</sup> as well by reason of State as Rules of best Go- <sup>d</sup> Rot. Parl. vernment, the Revenues and Profits <sup>e</sup> <sup>anno 28. H. 6.</sup> *sacrum Patrimonium Principis pertinent* <sup>& E. 4.</sup> which belong to the sacred Patrimony of <sup>e</sup> <sup>Ex legibus</sup> the Prince, should remain firme and un- <sup>Theodos. & Valentinian.</sup> broken. <sup>in Codice.</sup>

But when neither Credit, Frugality, or Sale <sup>Ks. enforced</sup> of Lands would stop the gulf of want, our to pawn and Princes have been so neer belet, as with Nerva sell their and Antonius the Emperors to sell and pawn Jewells. The Archbishop of York had <sup>f</sup> Rot. Pat. power from Henry 3. <sup>an. 26.</sup> (in wars beyond <sup>anno 26. H. 3.</sup> Sea) *impignorandi localia Regis ubicunque in* <sup>m. 1. Similiter</sup> Anglia pro pecunia perquirenda, to pawn the <sup>an. 36. H. 3.</sup> Kings Jewells any where in England to raise <sup>in 21. m.</sup> money. <sup>g</sup> Edward the first sendeth Egidius <sup>g</sup> Rot. Pat. *Andewar ad localia sua impignoranda,* to <sup>claus. an. 2.</sup> pawn his Jewells. <sup>h</sup> Edward the 3. pawneth <sup>h</sup> <sup>claus. an. 1.</sup> his Jewells to pay the L. Beaumont and the <sup>E. 3.</sup> Strangers their wages in war. The Black <sup>i</sup> Prince <sup>i</sup> Tho. Wal- was singham,

was constrained to break his Plate into Money  
to pay his Souldiers.

- <sup>a</sup> *Ex originali*  
<sup>a</sup> Richard the second pawned *Vasa aurea & diversa Localia*, vessels of Gold and divers Jewells to Sir Robert Knowles. <sup>b</sup> Henry the 4. an. 3. to a Merchant for money *invadiavit Tabellam & Trifellas suas Argenteas de Hispania*, ingaged his Tablet and stools of Silver which he had from Spain. <sup>c</sup> Henry the 6. gage and selleth to the cardinal of Winchester and others an. 10.<sup>h</sup>. 12<sup>th</sup>. and 29. <sup>d</sup> many parcels of his rich Jewells. And the late Queen in the end of her dayes (to ease her Subjects) did the like with many in the Tower.
- Kings enforced to pawn their Regall Crown. And Extremity hath yet stretched some of our Kings to so high a stain of Shift, that Edward the third *invadiavit magnam Coronam Anglia*, pawned his Imperiall Crown 3. severall times; an. 17. in *partibus transmarinis* in foreign parts, and twice to Sir Iohn Weseham his Merchant, first in the <sup>e</sup> 24. and after <sup>z</sup> an. 30. in whose custody it remained 8. yeares. To Henry Bishop of Winchester Henry the 5. *invadiavit magnam Coronam auream*, gaged his imperiall Crown of Gold in the 5. of his Reign. And when Henry the third had laid to gage <sup>h</sup> *omnia Insignia Regalia*, all his Robes and Kingly Ornaments, and upon assurance of redelivery or satisfaction had pawned *Aurum & Localia Feretri S. Edwardi Confessoris*, the Gold and Jewells belonging to the Shrine of S. Edward the Confessor, (A course more moderate then by force to have taken, as William the Conquerour did the Chalice and Shrines of other Churches, or as Clement the 7. who to pay the Souldiers of Charles the fifth melted the
- <sup>f</sup> *Pat. an. 24. m. 21.*  
<sup>g</sup> *Claus. an. 30. E. 3. Com. de Ter. Hill. 38. E. 3. ex parte Rem. Regis.*  
<sup>h</sup> *Pat. anno 5. H. 3. m. 23. & similiter an. 9. Rot. Pat. an. 51. H. 3. m. 17. & 18.*  
<sup>i</sup> *Ex historia Guicciardini.*

Conf  
had n  
with  
jects  
fitt  
nec a  
and l  
me:  
mere  
Abb  
plic  
conf  
fak  
all  
con  
mer  
Ch  
giv  
tha  
the  
lay

I  
h  
fi  
r

Conse-

Consecrated Vessels) was in the end, when he had neither means of his own left nor reputation with others, constrained to beg relief of his Subjects in this low strain, <sup>a</sup> *Pauper sum, omni de-* <sup>a</sup> *Ex hist.*  
*stitutus Thesauro; necesse habeo ut me iuueris: S. Albani.*  
*nec aliquid exigo nisi per gratiam; I am poor,*  
 and have no Treasure left; ye must needs relieve me: neither do I demand any thing but of your mere love and courtesy: And turning to the Abbot of Ramsay, to say, *Amice, obnixè supplico quatenus me iuvas mihi centum libras conferendo,* My friend, I beseech thee for Gods sake to help me with 100. pound: adding with all *maiorè Elcemosynam fore sibi iuvamen conferre pecuniamve, quam alicui ostiatim mendicanti,* that it would be a greater deed of Charity to contribute to his Wants, then to give to one that begged from door to door. So that of the waste of these times and want of those Princes I may truly with the Satyrist say,

*Ossa vides Regum vacuis exuta medullis.*

Thou seest the Bones of Kings spoi'd of their Marrow.

IT now resteth by some few particulars to observe with what Wealth we have returned home, loaden with the Spoils of our Enemies; since no motives are so powerfull to the Common greedy People as the hopes of gain, which will easily enforce them

In place of  
 spoile the  
 Souldiers re-  
 turn oppress-  
 ed with ex-  
 treme Beg-  
 gery.

<sup>b</sup> *Ire super gladios, superque Cadavera patrum,*  
*Et caesos calcare Duces, —*

<sup>b</sup> *Lucan. de*  
*Bello Civilì*  
*lib. 7.*

Tread upon Swords, and on their Fathers Graves,  
 And spurn their slaughter'd Captains. —

In



In the Expeditions of Henry 3. their pursues  
 a *Math. Paris* chafes were so great, that the a *Londoners* were  
 pag. 580. more grieved at the intolerable Beggeries than  
 the King and his Army brought back, then for  
 the expence of their own monyes; For

*Cum labor in damno est crescit mortalis egestas,*

When Toil brings Loss, Begg'ry must needs in-  
 crease.

The same King, although called in by the  
 b *Hist. Mat.* Nobility of France b in Faction against their  
 Paris p. 1358 Master, returned no better rewarded then *Con-*  
*sumpta pecunia infinita, & Nobilibus & Mi-*  
*litibus innumeralibus vel Morti datis vel infir-*  
*mitati, vel fame attenuatis, vel ad extremam*  
*reductis paupertatem,* with the having spent an  
 infinite deal of money, his Nobles and Soul-  
 diers without number being either slain, or sick-  
 ly, or maimed, or half-starved, or else reduced  
 to extreme poverty.

*Innocentius* the Pope repayed the expence of  
 Henry the 3. and his people in his *Sicilian* Ser-  
 vice with no better wages then this Scoffe, That  
 c *Math. Paris* England was c *Puteus inexhaustus quem nul-*  
 pag. 909. *lus poterat exficcare,* a Well not to be emptied  
 which no man could draw dry. What the suc-  
 ceeding times afforded may be well gathered  
 out of the many Petitions in Parliament, 22.  
 Edward 3. 4. and 7. of Richard 2. 8. of Henry 5.  
 and 10. of Henry 6. ever complaining of the  
 extreme Beggery the people brought home,  
 and desiring some speedy Relief.

The Treasure d Henry the 8. spent in aide of  
 d *Ex fir. Car-* *Maximilian* about recovery of *Verona* nul-  
 din. wolsey ad *lum aliud factum nisi damnum & dedecus pe-*  
 Card. Sedrin. *peritis*

perit, brought him nothing else but Loss and Dishonour. For the *Emperour* having his turn served, delivered, contrary to Contract, that City to the *French*, threatening to confederate with them, *ni Rex ei continuo persolveret*, unless the King would forthwith pay him down a great summe of money; believing (as the words are) *Minis & terrore ab hoc Rege pecuniam posse haberi*, that this King would part with his money upon threatnings and great words. For the great Army of this King sent over into *France*, and the Million almost of Crowns he supplied the *Emperour* and *Duke of Burbon* with in their wars of *Millan*, his People enduring new and unheard of Taxes at home, and his Souldiers great Extremity abroad, he was himself at the last of all, (their ends effected) having spent the Treasure of his Father, and the Bounty of his Subjects, forsaken and left as the Pasquill painted him, *inter Moysen, Christum & Mahumetem*, betwixt *Moses, Christ* and *Mahomet*, with this word, *Quo me vertam nescio*, Which way to turn me I know not. For 2. Millions of a Crowns bestowed in a *Ex Instruct.* purchase of *Tournay*, not without suite of his *Rich. Wing-* own, he delivered it with little or no recom-*field.* pence: & rated his potentiall Interest of *France* at no greater Summe then an Annuity <sup>b</sup> of *b Ex lit. Tho.* 100000. Crowns. What from the 30. of this *Wolsey Episc.* King untill the last of his son *Edward* the sixth *Lincoln.* for <sup>c</sup> 3173478. l. 15<sup>s</sup>. 4<sup>d</sup>. spent at Sea and *c Ex computa* Land in Forraign wars, this State received of *in Archivis.* inrichment, it seemeth so mean, as not worthy *Rob. Com.* any place either in Story or Accompts. *Salisb.*

Untill the late *Queen* was drawn into wars, she had in Treasure 700000. l. but after she was

<sup>a</sup> *Ex tractat.*  
anno 1598.

was once intangled, it cost her before the 30. of her Reign 1517351. *l.* at which time she was but entering into the vastness of her future Charge: For the annuall expence of 126000. *l.* in the Low-Countries, from 1587. untill 1593. the yearly disbursement for <sup>a</sup> *Flushing* and the *Brill* 28482. *l.* the debts of the States 800000. *l.* and the Aides of the *French King* since he attained to that Crown to above 401734. *l.* was after that time. Thus by reason of warre, besides Taxes upon her People to the Summe of two Millions, and 800000. *l.* by Subsidies, Tenths & Fifteens, she hath spent of her Lands, Jewells and Revenues an infinite proportion.

<sup>b</sup> *Ex computo*  
*deliberat.*  
*Domino The-*  
*saur. Bur-*  
*leigh.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Joannis*  
*Hawkins*  
*Thesaur. Na-*  
*vie.*

\* *Hor. Ep. 7.*

As for the imaginary Profit grown by the many rich Spoils at Sea and Attempts in *Spain*, it may be well cast up by two examples of our best Fortunes. The Journey of *Cales* <sup>b</sup> defrayed not the Charge to her Majesty by 64000. *l.* And our times of most advantage by Prizes between <sup>c</sup> anno 30. and 34. of the *Queen*, wherein we received but 64044. *l.* defrayed not the Charge of her Navy, arising in the same yeares to 275761. *l.* As to the greatest Lofse, expence of *Christian Blood*, it may well suffice to bemoan with \* *Horace*,

*Parumne Campis atque Neptuno super-*  
*fusum est Latini sanguinis?*  
*Neque hic Lupis mos nec fuit Leonibus*  
*Unquam, nisi in dispar feris.*

Is there as yet so little Latine Blood  
Spilt on the Fields and Flouds?  
Nor Wolves nor Lions do we ever find  
So cruel to their kind,

The

The last motive from Utility is, increase of Re-  
 venues to the publick Treasury by addition of Forreign Dominions. Which can receive no waies charge, answer so full of satisfaction, as to instance the particular Summes, exhausted in every Age to retain them. Beginning first with the *Dutchie* Example in of Normandy: For retention whereof William the Conquerour from hence, (as the <sup>a</sup> Author <sup>a</sup> Math. <sup>1</sup> ar. saith) laden *Thesauris innumeris*, with uncountable Treasure, exacted *sive per fas sive per nefas*, in *Normanniam transfretavit*, gathered together by hook or by crook, waisted over into Normandy. His Son <sup>b</sup> *ad retinendam* <sup>b</sup> *Ex Legibus* Normanniam, *Angliam excoriavit*, to retain antiquis. Normandy flayed off Englands skin. The same end by <sup>c</sup> Henry the first, *Anglia fuit bonis spo-* <sup>c</sup> *Ex walt.* *liata*, England was despoiled of its Goods. His Gisborn. <sup>d</sup> Grand-child took *Scutagium pro Exercitu* <sup>d</sup> *Ex lib. Ru-* Normannia, a Scutage for his army in Nor- bro. mandy 3. times at a high rate; and was informed then against incursions of the French to build and man <sup>e</sup> 13 Castles *de novo & integro*, <sup>e</sup> *Ex lib. Pip-* intirely new. nell.

Richard the first <sup>f</sup> exacted heavily upon his <sup>f</sup> Rad. Cog- people, *ut potentes homines Regis Francia sibi* gesball. *conciliaret, ut terram propriam Normannia* tutaretur, therewith to make himself friends amongst the most powerfull Courtiers of France, so to keep quietly his possessions in Normandy.

King John <sup>g</sup> as wearied with the Charge neg- <sup>g</sup> *Math. Par.* lected it: And his Son <sup>h</sup> feeling a burden more <sup>h</sup> *Ex Archiv.* then benefit, resigned his interest there for a *de re dit. Nor-* little Money. When it was again reduced by *man. tempore* Henry the fifth, <sup>i</sup> the judgement in Councel was, <sup>i</sup> *H. 3.* That the keeping of it would be no lesse of ex- *Ex origin.* pence then to war forth for all France. In the *Instr. Domini* quiet *Scrope.*

<sup>a</sup> *Ex libro Domini Carew de anno 1. & 2. H. 6.* quiet possession of his Son *Henry* <sup>a</sup> (*John Duke of Bedford* then Regent) this *Dutchie* cost the Crown of England 10942. *l.* yearly. In *an. 10.* it appeareth by the Accompts of the Lord *Cromwell* Treasurer of England, that out of the *Kings Exchequer at Westminster* the entertainment of the Garrison and Governour was defrayed, the Rents of the *Dutchy* not supporting the charge ordinary. <sup>c</sup> When *Richard Duke of York* was in the 15. year of *Henry the 6. Regent*, the certain Expence overballanced the Receipt 34008. *l.* And *an. 27.* <sup>d</sup> the Lord *Hastings* Chancellor of France declareth in Parliament, that *Normandy* was not able to maintain it self. But thus it continued not much longer; for this Crown was both eased of the *Dutchy* and Charge shortly.

*Aquitain, Gascoign, Guien.*

<sup>e</sup> *Rot. liber. anno 26. H. 3.*

<sup>f</sup> *Rot. an. 22. H. 6.*

<sup>g</sup> *Math. Paris pag. 578.*

Of the *Principality of Aquitain*, the *Duchie of Gascoign, Guien* and the Members, I find the state thus in record. In the 26. of *Henry 3.* <sup>e</sup> there was issued from the Treasurer & Chamberlains at *Westminster* 10000. *l.* for paiments in *Gascoign*; besides an infinite proportion of Victualls and Munition thither sent. To retain this *Dutchie* in Duty and possession, <sup>f</sup> this king was inforced to pawn his Jewells, being *are alieno graviter obligatus, Thesauris, Donativis, Tallagiis, & extersionibus in Anglia consumptis*; very much indebted, and having spent all his Treasures, Grants, Tallages, and other Sweepings in England. Besides the people there at his departure extorserunt ab eo confessionem quadraginta millia Marcarum, forced an acknowledgement from him of 40000. Marks. And a Story of that time saith of *ann. 38.* <sup>g</sup> *Ille per multos labores & expensas inutiliter*



recuperavit Castra sua propria Vasconia, with  
a great deal of toyle and expence, he unprof-  
itably recovered his own Castles in Gascoign:  
of which the Labour was more then ever the  
Benefit could be.

And thus it appeareth to have continued; for  
an. 17. of Edward the second, the money dis-  
bursed out of England to defray the surcharge  
there came to 46595. l. 9. shillings 7<sup>d</sup>. besides  
29660. Quarters of Grain, and of Beeves and  
Bacones an infinite proportion. In the first of  
Edward the 3. the issues of Gascoign were  
10000. l. above the Revenues. The Signiories  
in Aquitain<sup>c</sup> cost in 8. years ending 36. of  
this King, 192599. l. 4. shill. 5<sup>d</sup>. de receiptis  
forinfecis onely. It was delivered in Parlia-  
ment, an. 1. Rich. 2.<sup>d</sup> that Gascoign, and some  
few other places that were then held in France,  
cost yearly this Crown 42000. l. And in the  
17<sup>th</sup>. of this King<sup>e</sup> a Parliament was summoned  
for no other cause especiall, then to provide  
money to clear the annuall expences of those  
parts. The charge of Bordeaux<sup>f</sup> but one Town,  
surmounting in half a year all Rents and per-  
quisites there 2232. l. As Fronsack in A-  
quitain 5787. l. for double that time; when the  
intire Dutchie exceeded not 820. l. in yearly  
Revenues.

The Charge of Guien all the Reign of Henry  
4.<sup>s</sup> was 2200. l. annually out of the Exchequer  
of England. By accompt Aquitain (besides will. Clif.  
Guien 6606. l.) was the<sup>h</sup> first of Henry the fifth  
in surplussage of charge 1200. l. & the Town  
of<sup>i</sup> Bordeaux the 5. first years of the same King  
6815. l. In the 11. of<sup>k</sup> Henry the 6. Sir Iohn  
Radcliffe Steward of Aquitain received from

<sup>a</sup> Ex Comput.  
Willielm. de  
Otterhampton.

anno 17. E. 2.  
<sup>b</sup> Pat. an. 1.  
E. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Ex Comput.  
Richardi

Longley an. 36.  
E. 3. in the

saur. Regis  
westmon.

in Rot. Aquit-  
ania.

d Rot. Parl.  
anno 1. R. 2.

m. 24.  
<sup>e</sup> Rot. Parl.

anno 17. R. 2.  
<sup>f</sup> Ex Comput.

walr. de  
weston.

<sup>g</sup> Ex Comput.  
Tho. Swin-

burn anno 10.  
H. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Ex Comput.  
Ioannis Tiptoft

an. 1. H. 5.

<sup>i</sup> Ex Comput.  
will. Clif.

ford & Robert  
Holme an. 5.

H. 5.  
<sup>k</sup> Ex Rot. Parl.

an. 1. H. 6.

the Treasury of England *pro vadiis suis*, &c. 2729. *l.* and for expense in custody of *Fronsack* Castle onely he payed 666. *l.* 13. *shill.* the profits of the *Dutchie* no wayes able to cleare the Accompts.

Britanny.

<sup>a</sup> *Ex Math.*  
*Paris.*

The Benefit we reaped by any footing in *Britanny*, may in a few Examples appeare. <sup>a</sup> *Henry* the third confesseth that *ad defensionem Britanniae non sufficiebant Angliae Thesauri, quod jam per triennium comprobavit*, that the Treasury of England would not suffice to maintain *Britanny*, which he had found to be true upon 3 years tryall: and left in the end *tam laboriosis expensis amplius fatigari*, to tire himself farther with such toilsome expenses.

Brest.

<sup>b</sup> *Rot. Parl.*

*anno 2. R. 2.*

*Ex Comput.*

*Tho. Parry.*

*Cust. Castri de*

*Brest, a. 9. R. 2.*

*Callis.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ex Comput.*

*Williel. Hor-*

*well in The-*

*saur. Regis.*

<sup>d</sup> *Ex comput.*

*Richard*

*Eccleshal de*

*annis 28, 29,*

*& 30. E. 3.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ex Rot. Par.*

*anno 2. R. 2.*

<sup>f</sup> *Ex Comput.*

*Rob. Thorley.*

<sup>g</sup> *Ex Comput.*

*Simonis de*

*Batz.*

The Town of *Brest* <sup>b</sup> cost *Richard* the second 12000. Marks a year, and it stood him in *an. 9.* in 1318. *l.* 18. *shillings.*

For *Callis*, I will deliver with as much shortness as may be, from the first acquisition untill the losse, in every age the Expense (for the most part either out of the Treasury or Customs of England,) disbursed. <sup>c</sup> From the 18. of *Edward* the 3. untill the 21. in which space it was taken, the Charge amounted to 337400. *l.* 9. *shil.* 4<sup>d</sup>. *Anno 28.* of the same King for little more then a yeare 17847. *l.* 5. *shillings.* In *an. 29.* 30581. *l.* 18<sup>d</sup>. for 2. yeares compleat. <sup>d</sup> In 30. received by *Richard de Eccleshal* Treasurer of *Callis* from the Bishop of *Winchester* Treasurer of England, 17847. *l.* <sup>e</sup> And in the yeare following 26355. *l.* 15. *shillings.* <sup>f</sup> In the second of *Richard 2.* *de receptis forinsecis*, which was money from the Exchequer at *Westminster*, 20000. *l.* for 3 yeares compleat. <sup>g</sup> *Anno 5.* 19783. *l.* For three yeares ending

<sup>a</sup> *anno 10.*

a anno 10. 77375. l. For the like term untill a *Ex Comput.*  
ann. 13. 48609. l. 8. shillings. And b for the *Rog. de Wald.*  
4. succeeding yeares 90297. l. 19. shil. And for *anno 13. R. 2.*  
the last 3 yeares of his Reign, 85643. l. *& 15.*

From the end of <sup>c</sup> Richard 2. untill the 4 of <sup>d</sup> Ex Comput.  
Henry 4. for 3. yeares <sup>d</sup> 62655. l. 17. shillings. <sup>c</sup> Joannis Ber-  
And for one succeeding, 19783. l. The Charge <sup>c</sup> nam, anno 23.  
in Victuall and Provision for 2. yeares 5. <sup>R. 2.</sup>  
moneths in this Kings Reign <sup>c</sup> 46519. l. 15. <sup>c</sup> Ex Comput.  
shillings. <sup>R. Thorley.</sup>  
<sup>d</sup> Ex Comput.

In the first 4. and peaceable yeares of his Son  
there was issued from the Treasury of England  
£ 86938. l. 10. shil. for this place. And from  
anno 8. untill the 9. 65363 l. It cost Henry the  
£ 6. above all Revenue 9054. l. 5. shillings in  
an. 11. The Subsidies in England were an. 27.  
levied in Parliament to defray the wages and  
reparation of Callis. And the 31. of this King  
there was a Fifteen and 2. shil. of every Sack  
of Wooll imposed upon the Subjects here to  
the same end. And the Parliament of 33. was  
assembled of purpose to order a course for dis-  
charge of wages and expence at Callis: and the  
like authority directed 4. of Edward the fourth,  
that the Souldiers there should receive Vi-  
ctualls and salary from out of the Subsidies of  
England. The disbursement thereof one yeare  
being 12771. l. And in the 16. of the same  
King for like term there was de Portu London,  
Hull, Sancti Botolphi, Poole, & Sandwico, by the  
Ports of London, Hull, Boston, Pool, & Sandwich,  
12488. l. paid to the Treasury of Callis. And  
in an. 20. from out of the Customes of the same  
Ports to the same end 12290. l. 18. shillings.  
And in 23. 11102. l. And the year follow-  
ing 10788. l. The settled ordinary wages of

<sup>a</sup> Ex lib. de  
expens. Bellor.  
H. 8. & E. 6.  
in Museo  
Com. Salisbur.

the Garrison in this Town yearly was 24.  
<sup>a</sup> Henry 8. 8834. l. And about 30<sup>th</sup>. when the  
Viscount Lisle was Deputy, 8117. l. And from  
the 30<sup>th</sup>. of this King to the end of his Son  
*Edw. 6.* this place did cost the Crown 371428. l.  
18. shil. From the first purchase of it by *Edward*  
the 3. untill the losse thereof by *Queen Mary*,  
it was ever a perpetuall issue of the Treasure of  
this Land, which might in continuance have  
rather grown to be a burthen of Danger to us,  
then any Fort of Security. For from the waste  
of money, which is *Nervus Reipublicæ*, the Si-  
new of a Common-wealth, as *Ulpian* saith, we  
may conclude with *Tacitus*, *Dissolutionem Im-*  
*perii docet, si fructus quibus Respub. sustinetur*  
*diminuantur*, it foreshews the ruine of an Em-  
pire, if that be impaired which should be the  
sustenance of the Common-wealth. And there-  
fore it was not the worst opinion (at such time  
as the Captivity of *Francis* the French King in-  
cired <sup>b</sup> Henry the 8. to put off that Kingdome,  
although in the close *major pars vicit melio-*  
<sup>c</sup> rem, the greater party out-voted the better,) that  
to gain any thing in *France* would be more  
chargeable then profitable, and the keeping  
more then the enjoying. The issue was in *Tour-*  
*nay*, *Bullen*, and this Town manifest. Besides  
the jealousy that Nation ever held over our de-  
signes and their own liberty. For as *Gracia li-*  
*bera esse non potuit dum Philippus Gracia Com-*  
*pedes tenuit*, Greece could never be free so long  
as *Philip* had the Fetters of Greece in his cu-  
stody; so as long as by retention of *Callis* we  
had an easy descent into, and convenient place  
to trouble the Country, a Fetter to intangle  
them, they neither had assurance of their own  
quiet,

<sup>b</sup> Ex litera  
Archiep. Cant.  
<sup>c</sup> Card. Wolsey.

quiet, nor we of their Amity. And it was not the least Argument from *Conveniencie* in the detention of *Callis* (after the 8 yeares expired of Re-delivery) used by the *Chancellour of France*,

That we should gain much more in assured peace, which we could never have so long as we were Lords of that Town, then by any benefit it did or could yield us. It was never but a Pike and Quarrell between the two Realms: For upon every light displeasure, either Princes would take by and by to *Callis*, and make war there. God hath made a separation naturall betwixt both Nations, a sure wall and defence,

*Et penitus toto divisos Orbe Britannos;*

That is, the English were divided from all the world.

But a little more to inform the weight of these Charges, it is not amisse to touch (by way of comfort) that from which we are so happily by the infinite blessings of God and benignity of a Gracious King delivered; and also that other of burthen still, (though much lightened) untill conformity of Affections and designs of Councils shall further effect a Remedie.

The Charge of *Barwick* and the *Frontiers* in 20. *Edward 3.* was 3129. *l.* for three yeares. In the end of *Richard 2.* & entrance of *Henry the 4.* 10153. *l.* And 11. of *Henry 6.* the Custodie of the *Marches* 4766. *l.* In the 2. *Maria* the annuall Charge of *Barwick* was 9413. *l.* And in *an. 2. Elizabeth* 13430. *l.* And *an. 26.* 12391. *l.*

The Kingdome of *Ireland*, beyond the Revenues, was 29. *E. 3.* 12285. *l.* *An. 30.* 2880. *l.* and *an. 50.* 1808. *l.* All the time of *Richard 2.* it never defrayed the charges; And came short

<sup>a</sup> *Ex litera*  
*Thome Smith*  
*Secret. anno*  
*1567.3. Maii.*

<sup>b</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Joannis*  
*Tiptoft.*

<sup>c</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Hen. Percy,*

*anno 1. H. 4.*  
<sup>d</sup> *Parl. an. 11.*  
*H. 6.*

<sup>e</sup> *Ex museo*  
*Com. Salis-*  
*bury.*

<sup>f</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Williel. de*  
*Brumleigh.*  
*Barwick.*

<sup>g</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Nicol. Episc.*  
*Meth, an. 30.*  
*Ed. 3.*

<sup>h</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Tho. Scurley*  
*anno 50. E. 3.*

*Ireland.*  
<sup>i</sup> *Ex computo*  
*Joan. Spencer,*  
*de annis R. 20*



<sup>a</sup> *Ex Rot. Par.* in 11. Henry 6. 4000. Marks <sup>a</sup> of annuall  
 anno 11. H. 6. issues. The Revenue there in *omnibus exitibus*  
 & *proficuis*, in all the rents and profits yearly,  
 by Account of Cromwell Lord Treasurer, not  
 above 3040. *l.* But passing over these elder  
 times; in the Reign of the late *Queen*, when the  
 yearly Revenue was not 15000. *l.* the expence  
 for 2. yeares <sup>b</sup> ending 1571. amounted to  
 116874. *l.* In anno 1584. for lesse then 2 yeares  
 came it to 86983. *l.* <sup>c</sup> The charge there in two  
 years of S. Iohn Parrots government ending 1586.  
 was 116368. *l.* In anno 1597. the Receipt not  
 above 25000. *l.* the issue was 91072. *l.* And  
 when in 35. Elizabeth the Rents and Profits of  
 that Kingdome exceeded not 27118. *l.* the  
 Disbursements in 7 moneths were 171883. *l.*  
 The Charge 1601. <sup>d</sup> for 9 moneths 167987. *l.*  
 And for the two yeares following accounted by  
 the allayed money 670403. *l.* And in the first  
 of the King, 84179. *l.* Whose government al-  
 though it hath blessed both us and that King-  
 dome with the benefit of Peace, yet hath it not  
 delivered himself from a large and yearly ex-  
 pence here for supportation of that State out of  
 his own Treasure. And thus far in answer of  
 the Argument from increase of Revenue by for-  
 reign Dominions.

Addition of  
 any forreign  
 Title no Ho-  
 nour.

As to the Arguments of Honour by addition of  
 Titles and forreign Territories; it may suffice in  
 answer, That so long as this Crown was actual-  
 ly possessed of any such Signiorie, the Tenure  
 and Service did ever bring with it a note and  
 badge of Vassallage; then which nothing to so  
 free a Monarch as the King of England (who is  
<sup>c</sup> *Monarcha in Regno*, & tot & tanta habet  
 Pri-

<sup>e</sup> Baldus.

*Privilegia quot Imperator in Imperio*, a Monarch in his Kingdome, and hath as many and as large Priviledges therein as an Emperour in his Empire,) could be more in blemish or opposition. To write *Domino Regi nostro Francia*, To our Lord the King of France, as during the time we held the *Provinces in France* we usually did in all our Letters and publick Contracts with that Crown, can be called no addition of Honour. And whether upon every command to act in person those base services of *Homage and Fidelity*, as first in putting off the *Imperiall Crown*, the kneeling low at the foot of that King, and taking an oath to become *Homme liege du Roys de France*, a liege subject to the Kings of France, &c. we in performing so the duties of a Subject, do not much more disparage the dignity of a Sovereign, is no question of doubt. From these considerations of Reputation and Honour, (the greatest stayes that support Majestie, and retain Obedience) our Kings of England have as far as to the forfeit of those Signiories either avoided or refused the services. As King Iohn did Normandy; and Edward the 2. resigned to his Son the *Dutchie of Aquitain*, to put off the act of homage from himself, to whom it could not in respect of his Regaltie but be a dishonour. As appeareth in Henry the 2. who having made his Son *Consortem Imperii*, a King of England with him, *Homagium a Filio noluit* (saith the Record) *quia Rex fuit, sed securitatem accepit*; would not receive Homage of him, because he was a King, but took his Security. In the 17. of Richard 2. the Lords and Justices would not consent to a Peace with France, unlessse the King might not

Stile of Normandy and Aquitain, accounted by our Kings a vassalage.

do *Homage*, they held it so base, supposing thereby the liberty of the Kings Person and Subject wronged. And thus much of the little *Reputation* that either in *Title* or *Territori* those subordinate *Dutchies* in *France* added to this Crown.

Stile of  
France re-  
strained by  
petition in  
Parliament.

As for the *Kingdome* of *France*, the people of *England* were so little in love with that *Title*, as any *Honour* to them, that by Acts of Parliament 14. *Edward* 3. and 8. *Edward* 5. they provided that the Subjects of *England* should owe no Obedience to the King as King of *France*, nor the *Kingdome* of *England* be in any wise subjected by such *Union* to that Crown.

France pos-  
sessed would  
leave us to  
the misery  
of a province

And so much we have ever been in fear of that place, lest it might leave this State to the misery of a *Provinciall* Government: as in 17. of *Henry* 6. the Commons urged to contribute for the recovery of that Crown, answered, that the gaining of any footing in *France* would induce the Kings abroad there, and by such absence cause great decay and desolation in this State; besides the transport of our Money in the mean time, which would enrich that Countrey, and impoverish the Realm at home, whereby we should justly again say, *a Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie poscit*, The Britans are every day begging to be slaves, every day giving money for it.

*Tacit, in vita  
Agricolæ.*

To enterprife  
any war, nor  
so easy.

The last motive is, the advantage we now have of greater *Facilitie* and *assurance* of Success in any forreign enterprife, by this happy *Union* of both Kingdoms, then ever any of our Ancestours had.

To

To which in answer nothing can be more full, Meanes of then laying down the motives and means that successe followed on the Kings of this Realm to attempt and merly.

prosperously effect their undertakings in other parts, weigh how they suite these times, and whether that any or all the advantages we now have may be to them of equall worth and valuation. The first consideration is in *Place*, the next in *Person*. In the wars of *France* (whether those for the defence of particular *Signiories*, or competition of the intire Kingdome) we had ever Ports to land at, & Forts to retire to, which now we have not. The coast of *Normandy* was our own, by which we might enter the midst of *France*. And *Edward 3.* when he intended to annoy the East part, sided with *Montfort* against *Charles de Bloys*, whom he invested with the *Dutchie of Britain*, that so he might have there an easy footing. Thus by leave of his Confederats in *Flanders* he had safe entrance for all his Army to invade the other side, and a sure retreat, when upon any occasion he would come back, as he did to *Antwerp*. And wheresoever any army may have a quiet descent, the greatest difficultie is overcome; for the rest consisteth in *Chance*, wherein Fortune is rather wont to prevaile then *Vertue*. But <sup>a</sup> *ibi grave est Bellum gerere, ubi nullus est Classi Portus apertus, non ager pacatus, non Civitas Socia, non consistendi aut procedendi locus, quocunque circumspexeris hostilia sunt omnia*; There 'tis a hard task to wage war, where there is no Port open for our Navy, the Countrey our enemy, no City our Confederate, no place to make a stand or to march out from, but whithersoever a man looks, he can see nothing but hostile intentions against

Advantage  
of Place and  
Party.  
Advantage;  
of Place.

<sup>a</sup> *Livy lib. 28.*

against us. And this must be now our case which was never our Ancestours.

A Party

found

made.

<sup>a</sup> Math.  
Paris in  
vita H.3.

<sup>b</sup> Math.  
Par. vita  
Hen.3.

<sup>c</sup> Froissard.  
d walsing-  
ham.

T. Livius  
Foroli-  
viensis in  
vita He.5.

Confede-  
rates were  
the onely  
ground of  
all the good  
successe.

Advantage per onall was either

Confede-  
rates.

For the *Persons* considerable, they are the Subjects to our enemies, or our own Confederats. Of the first, our Kings heretofore did either work upon the opportunity of any dissension ministred, or by Pension & Reward either make a fraction in Obedience, or Neutrality in Assistance with the Subjects of their Adversary. The Duke of Burgundy, Earls of Britain, Dreux and others in France, offended with their Sovereign, <sup>a</sup> *Confederati erant comiti Britannia Henrico & Regi Anglia*, became Confederates with Henry Earle of Britain and King of England; and thereupon drew him over into Britain. <sup>b</sup> The same King by yearly Pensions of 7000. *l.* kept divers in Poictou in fraction against their Lord and their own Loyaltie, Edward 3. had never undertaken the conquest of France, if <sup>c</sup> *Robert de Artoys* (displeased with the Sentence of Philip his Master for that Earldome) had not incited and complotted for him, as Godfrey of Harecourt did after. Nor Henry <sup>d</sup> 5. if the unsound memory of the French King, the jealousy of those Princes & Orleantial Faction had not made his way and Fortune.

THE Confederates our Kings held formerly for mutuall Aide were of such consequence in all their affairs,



fairs, that those so best strengthened achieved ever the greatest and most glorious victories. As the first and 3<sup>d</sup>. Edwards, the 5<sup>th</sup>. and 8<sup>th</sup>. Henries. Whereas Henry the sixth, that was of all the rest left most naked to himself, although the greatest otherwise in opportunity, lost all the purchase of his Ancestours in the end. It is not amisse in such a foundation of Greatness as Confederacy, to lay down successively, first, with whom we tied that knot of love; then, what were the motives or assurances; and lastly, whether the same in both is left to our occasions and will now or no.

Henry the first, but to assure his own possessions beyond Sea, <sup>a</sup> *adscivit in presidium Comitem Britannia, & Theobaldum Comitem Ble-sensem*, called to his aide the Earle of Britain, and Theobald Earle of Bloys.

Henry the second did the like with <sup>b</sup> Robert Earle of Flanders. And again *cum Theodorico Comite Flandria, Baronibus, Castellanis, & ceteris hominibus Comitatus*, with Theodorice Earle of Flanders, the Barons, Governours of Castles, and other the Subjects of the said Earle; who stood bound to serve him *in summonitione sua, sicut Domino, pro feodis quae de ipso tenent*, upon a summons, as well as their own Lord, for the Fees which they held of him.

Baldwin Earle of Flanders contracteth under Bond <sup>d</sup> *mutui subsidii, quod sine Rege Richardo Anglia non componeret cum Rege Francorum*, of mutuall aide, that he would not come to agreement with the French King without Richard King of England. And the <sup>e</sup> *Bri-* tains *relieto Rege Francia Regi Richardo ad-* hese-

A list of all the Confederates from Hen. the firsts Reign to the end of the last Queen. Henry 2.

<sup>a</sup> Ex Contract. orig. in Arch. Thes. west.

<sup>b</sup> Ex Radulp. de Diceto.

<sup>c</sup> Ex orig. signat. à Comite & Castellanis, in Thes. west.

Richard 2. Ex Radulp. de Diceto.

<sup>e</sup> Math. Paris 184.

*haferunt*, forsaking the King of France, di-  
joya with King Richard.

King John. Between King John <sup>a</sup> and the Earle of Flan-  
<sup>a</sup> *Indorso cla.* ders there was a Combination *mutui auxili*  
<sup>an. 1. Joannis.</sup> *contra Regem Francorum*, of mutuall assistance  
<sup>b</sup> *Ex orig. in* against the French King. <sup>b</sup> The like with the  
*Thes. westm.* City of Doway and Earle of Holland.

Henry 3. Henry 3. *an. 11.* drew <sup>c</sup> Peter Duke of Bri-  
<sup>c</sup> *Dors. pat. 11.* tany into Confederacy against the French; and  
<sup>H. 3. m. 11.</sup> *Fernand* Earle of Flanders with a Pension  
<sup>d</sup> *Rot. lib. an.* annuall of 500. Marks. <sup>d</sup> And *anno 38.* *Alfon-*  
<sup>14. H. 3. m. 7.</sup> *sus* King of Castile combineth with him and his  
<sup>ex originali.</sup> heirs *contra omnes homines in mundo*, against  
all the men in the World. To whom he re-  
mained so constant, that *an. 8.* and *10.* *Edw. 1.*  
he would not grant a Truce to the French King,  
but *ad preces & instantiam* at the instant suit of  
the King of England.

Edward 1. Edward 1. *an. 13.* <sup>e</sup> by a pretence of inter-  
<sup>e</sup> *Claus. an. 13.* marriage drew Florence Earle of Holland from  
*Edw. 1.* the French to his party: <sup>f</sup> and the yeare follow-  
<sup>f</sup> *Ex origin. in* ing, by mediation of the Lord of Black-mont,  
*Thesaur.* the Earle of Flanders, who in *an. 20.* assisted  
<sup>g</sup> *Rot. Vascon.* him in the wars of Gascoign. <sup>h</sup> In the 22. he  
<sup>an. 20. m. 19.</sup> combined with Adolph King of the Romans, and  
<sup>h</sup> *Rot. Alman.* the Earle of Gueldres; tying the Nobility of  
<sup>de annis 22.</sup> Burgundie with a yearly donative of 30000. *l.*  
<sup>& 31. m. 13.</sup> *Turonensium* to aid him *contra Regem Francia*,  
<sup>i</sup> *Ex origin.* against the French King. <sup>i</sup> He had Guido Earle  
<sup>sub sigillo in</sup> of Flanders and Philip his son for 100000. *l.*  
<sup>Thes. westm.</sup> *Turonensium* in pay against the French King,  
<sup>k</sup> *Rot. Alman.* *an. 24, 25, and 31.* of his Reign; <sup>k</sup> retaining  
<sup>an. 31. m. 14.</sup> the Earle of Gueldres by pay of 1000000. *l.*  
<sup>1 Dors. Rot.</sup> the Duke of Lorrain by 1600000. *l.* <sup>l</sup> the  
<sup>Alman. 18.</sup> Nobility of Burgundy by a Pension of 30000. *l.*  
and Wallerand Lord of Montay by 300. *l.* Tu-

*ronensium* in his service the same yeare. <sup>a</sup> And <sup>a</sup> *Rot. Pat.*  
in an. 34. *Reginaldum Comitem Montis Be-* an. 34. m. 24.  
*liardi & alios de Burgundia contra Regem*  
*Francie*, *Reginald Earle of Mont-Belliard*  
and other *Burgundians* against the King of  
France.

*Edward 2.* had <sup>b</sup> *auxilium tam maritimum* *Edward 2.*  
*quam terrestre à Genoesibus*, assistance as well <sup>b</sup> *Rot. Vasco.*  
by Sea as by Land from the *Genoeses*. <sup>c</sup> And <sup>c</sup> *an. 9. & 11.*  
in an. 18. besides his Alliance with *Flanders*, <sup>c</sup> *Dors. Claus.*  
*Iohn Proteſtour* of *Caſtile* aideth him contra <sup>c</sup> *an. 18. m. 7.*  
*Gallos cum 1000. equitibus & peditibus*, &  
*Scutiſeris 10000.* against the French with  
1000. horse and foot, and 10000 other armed  
men.

*Edward the 3.* <sup>d</sup> had by the Marriage of *Phi-* *Edward 3.*  
*lip*, the Earle of *Henault & Holland* her Father <sup>d</sup> *Froisard.*  
affiured to him; and retained *Iohn of Henault*  
and his Followers, <sup>e</sup> *qui venerunt in auxilium* <sup>e</sup> *Rot. libera 2.*  
*adrogatum Regis*, who came to assist the King at <sup>e</sup> *m. 6.*  
his call, with a Salary of 14000. *l.* yearly. Before  
he adventured to avow and maintain his Chal-  
lenge to the Kingdome of France, <sup>f</sup> he made <sup>f</sup> *Rot. Alman.*  
up to his partie *Lodowick the Emperour*, (who <sup>f</sup> *anno 11.*  
the better to countenance his enterpriſe, elected  
him *Vicarium Imperii*, Vicar of the Empire.)  
& *Reginald Earle of Geldres*, *Lewis Marqueſſe of* <sup>g</sup> *Rot. Antwer.*  
*Brandenburg*, *Conrade Lord of Hard*, who ſer- <sup>g</sup> *anno 13.*  
ved him with 50. men at Armes, the *Cardinall*  
of *Genoa* and his Nephew, who aided him with  
*Galleys*, the *Magiſtrates of Colen*, *Bruxells*,  
*Lorrain* and *Mechlin*, and <sup>h</sup> *Iagues de Arte-* <sup>h</sup> *Froisard.*  
*vile* head of the *Gantois Faction*; who having  
quitted all duty to the banished Earle, submitted  
themselves and moſt of *Flanders* to the ſervice  
and protection of *Edward 3.* who to free them  
of

of two Millions of Crowns, wherein, as a Cause of obedience to the Crown of France,<sup>a</sup> they stood bound as well by Oath as Obligation, took upon him the Title of King of France, and imployed John Duke of Brabant and Lorraine, William Marquesse of Juliers, and the Earle of Henault and Holland, his assured Friends, *Procuratores suos ad vendicandum Regnum Francie*, his Procurators to claim the Crown of France.<sup>b</sup> These his Allyes not long after meeting him at Tournay with 100000. men, as Robert de Artoys did with 50000. at S. Omers against the French King. And thus he attired and furnished his first enterprise, weaving into his Faction and support more and more, as often as either pretence or just occasions would give him leave. By<sup>c</sup> colour of Marriage he drew in the King of Sicilie in the 18<sup>th</sup>. year, the Duke of Millain, and the King of Castile for mutuall aide; and<sup>d</sup> Simon Butangre Duke of Genoa, and his Subjects for hire and reward. In the 19. yeare<sup>e</sup> the questionable Title of the Dutchie of Britain assured him of John de Montford; against whom the<sup>f</sup> French King maintained Charles de Bloys for that Dutchie. In an. 24.<sup>g</sup> he renewed the Contract with the Genoeses; and in 30. made a convention of Peace, & *mutui auxilii cum Rege Navarra*, and of mutuall aide, with the King of Navarre. In<sup>h</sup> the 37. with Peter King of Castile: and in that and 41.<sup>i</sup> an alliance of Aide and Amity he entred with the Duke of Britain: and an. 45.<sup>k</sup> again with the Genoeses and Lewis Earle of Flanders and Duke of Brabant:<sup>l</sup> and an. 46. with Ferdinand King of Portugall.

<sup>a</sup> Ex Rot. Ant-  
werp. an. 12.  
<sup>b</sup> Rot. Parl.  
anno 14. n. 3.  
<sup>c</sup> claus. an. 18.  
m. 25.  
<sup>d</sup> Dorf. claus.  
an. 18. m. 20.  
<sup>e</sup> Dorf. claus.  
an. 19. m. 14.  
<sup>f</sup> Froisard.  
<sup>g</sup> Rot. Pat.  
an. 24. n. 8.  
<sup>h</sup> Ex originali  
de anno 37. in  
bib. Ro. Cotton.  
<sup>i</sup> Ex orig. in  
Thes. West. de  
annis 37.  
<sup>j</sup> 41.  
<sup>k</sup> Ex orig. sub  
figillo.  
<sup>l</sup> Ex Contract.  
origin. in  
Archiv. Thes.  
Westm.  
<sup>m</sup> Claus. an. 1.  
R. 2.  
Richard 2.

Richard the second reneweth<sup>m</sup> in an. 1. the

confederation that his Grandfather had with the Duke of Britain; and with whom anno 3. he contracted anew, as he had done anno 2. <sup>a</sup> Rot. Franc. with Lewis<sup>a</sup> Earle of Flanders. In the 6. <sup>b</sup> yeare anno 2. he combineth with the Flemings <sup>c</sup> contra im- <sup>b</sup> Ex orig. in micos communes, against the enemies of them Thef. both; with <sup>d</sup> the Kings of Naples, Sicilie, Navarre and Arragon, de mutuis auxiliis, for <sup>c</sup> Rot. Parl. mutual aide; <sup>e</sup> & with Wenceslaus the Emperour anno 6. n. 11. <sup>d</sup> Ex Contract. contra Carolum Regem Francia & Robertum in lib. Italico Regem Scotia, against Charles King of France, Rob. Cotton. and Robert King of Scotland. In an. 8. <sup>f</sup> with anno 6. m. 28. the Kings of Ierusalem, Sicilie, & Portugall. In <sup>f</sup> Rot. Franc. the 10. with Portugall, who at his own charges anno 12. m. 16. aided this King with 10. Galleys. And with <sup>e</sup> anno 18. William Duke of Gueldres de mutuis auxiliis, <sup>e</sup> 19. for mutuall aide. And an. 12. <sup>g</sup> 18. and 19. <sup>g</sup> Rot. Franc. with Albert Duke of Bavaria. <sup>h</sup> And an. 20. an. 12. m. 16. with the Earle of Ostrenant de retinentiis contra <sup>e</sup> anno 18. Regem Francia, against the King of France. <sup>e</sup> 19. And Rupertus Count Palatine of the Rhene <sup>h</sup> Rot. Franc. an. 20. m. 2. became a Homager for term of life to <sup>i</sup> Rot. claus. this King. av. 2. Hen. 4.

Henry 4. entred alliance <sup>i</sup> of mutuall aid in <sup>e</sup> Rot. Franc. 2. yeares with William Duke of Gueldres and anno 2. & 3. Mons. <sup>k</sup> In the 12<sup>th</sup>. with Sigismond King of H. 4. m. 6. Hungaria. <sup>l</sup> And in the 13. by siding with the Henry 4. Factions of the Dukes of Berry and Orleans, <sup>k</sup> Rot. Franc. layed the basis upon which his Son that suc- anno 12. H. 4. ceeded reared the Trophies of his Renown. m. 21.

For Henry the fifth going forward upon the Henry. 5. Advantage left and daily offered, (strengthened <sup>l</sup> Tho. Wal- himself anno 4. <sup>m</sup> by a League perpetuall with singham. <sup>m</sup> Ex Rot. Sigismond the Emperour; renewing that of Parl. anno 41 Richard the 2. <sup>n</sup> with Iohn King of Portugall, <sup>n</sup> Ex orig. in as his Father had done. He entred a contract Thef. Westm. with



<sup>a</sup> Ex chron.

Rogeri wall.

in vila H. 5.

anno 5. & 8.

<sup>b</sup> Ex instruct.

orig. 31. Aug.

5. H. 5.

Henry. 6.

<sup>c</sup> Ex contract.

originali.

<sup>d</sup> Ex tractat.

Alrabatensi.

<sup>e</sup> Ex tractat.

Brugensi. 1442

<sup>f</sup> Ex tractat.

Callisi 1445.

Ex tractat.

Bruxellensi

1446.

<sup>g</sup> Parl. an. 7.

E. 4. n. 28.

Edward 4.

<sup>h</sup> Rot. Franc.

anno 8. m. 22.

<sup>i</sup> Ex contract.

originali.

<sup>j</sup> Rot. Franc.

an. 11. E. 4.

m. 7.

<sup>k</sup> Rot. Franc.

an. 12. m. 22.

<sup>l</sup> ex orig. in.

Thef. westm.

with the Duke of Britain, and with the Queen of Ierusalem and Lewis her Son for the Dutchie of Anion and Mayn; and with the King of Portugall and Duke of Bavaria for supplie of men & Munition by them performed. <sup>a</sup> And the year before the battel of Agincourt sendeth the Lord Henry Scrope to contract with the Duke of Burgundie <sup>b</sup> & his Retinue for Wages in servitio suo in Regno Francia vel Ducatu Aquitania, in his service in the Kingdome of France, or the Duchy of Aquitain; esteeming the alliance of that house the readiest means to attaine his end.

Henry 6. <sup>c</sup> so long as he held the Amity of Britain (for which he contracted) and the confederacy of Burgundy, his friend of eldest assurance and best advantage, which he did to the 16<sup>th</sup>. yeare of his government, there was no great decline of his Fortune in France. But when Burgundy <sup>d</sup> brake the bond of our assurance, & betook him to the Amity of France, and dealt with this Crown but as a Merchant by way of intercourse, first at the Treaty of <sup>e</sup> Bruges 1442. then at <sup>f</sup> Callis 1446. the reputation and interest we held in France declined faster in the setting of this Son, then ever it increased in the rising of the Father.

And Edward the fourth who succeeded, sensible of this losse, wooed by all the means either of Intercourse or Marriage to winne again the house of Burgundy, <sup>g</sup> which in an. 7. he did, to joyn for the recovery of his right in France. <sup>h</sup> And drew in the yeare following the Duke of Britain to that Confederacy. In the <sup>i</sup> 11. yeare he renewed with Charles of Burgundie the bond of mutuall Aide; and contracted the next <sup>k</sup> yeare the like with the King of Portugall.

And

And in an. 14. *pro recuperatione Regni Francia* <sup>a Rot. Fran.</sup> contra *Ludovicum Usurpantem*, for the recovery of the Kingdome of France out of <sup>anno 14. m. 18</sup> the hands of *Lewis* the Usurper, (<sup>a</sup> as the Record is) entered a new Confederacy with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britain*; <sup>b Ex Contr.</sup> And in <sup>de anno 1487.</sup> the end wrought from them a round Pension of <sup>pro solutione</sup> money, though he could not any portion of land <sup>50000 scuto-</sup> <sup>rum ad 100.</sup> <sup>amos.</sup>

*Henry* the 7. <sup>c an. 5. & 6.</sup> entertaineth an Alliance with *Spain* against the *French* King. <sup>Henry 7.</sup> The like in the 8. with the King of *Portugall*: <sup>c Rot. Fran.</sup> and in the 10. <sup>anno 5. & 6.</sup> with the house of *Burgundy* for <sup>Hen. 7.</sup> Intercourse and mutuall Aide. <sup>& Contrast:</sup>

*Henry* the 8. in an. 4. <sup>e</sup> reneweth the Amity of *Portugal*; and the next yeare combineth with <sup>origin. an. 8.</sup> the Emperour *Maximilian* against *Lewis* the <sup>H. 7.</sup> French King, who aideth him out of *Artoys* and *Henault* with 4000. horse and 6000. foot; <sup>Henry 8.</sup> whereupon he winneth *Tournay*, <sup>d Ex magno</sup> *Consilio*, *Auxilio*, & *favoribus Maximiliani Imperatoris*, <sup>Interusu</sup> with the advice, assistance, and countenance of <sup>de an. 1495.</sup> the Emperour *Maximilian*. In anno 7. <sup>e Ex tract.</sup> to weaken the *French* King, he entreth league with <sup>original. de</sup> the *Helvetian Cantons* by his Commissioners <sup>dat. 1513.</sup> *Wingfield* and *Pace*; and with <sup>f Ex litera</sup> *Charles* of <sup>Max. Imp.</sup> *Spain* for Amity and mutuall Aide: into which <sup>Card. Ebor.</sup> *Maximilian* the Emperour and *Ioane* of *Spain* <sup>dat. 15.</sup> were received the yeare following. <sup>g Rot. Fran.</sup> In an. 12. <sup>anno 7. H. 8.</sup> with the Emperour *Charles* and <sup>h Ex tract.</sup> *Margaret* <sup>Bruxellensf</sup> *Regentesse* of *Burgundy* he maketh a Confe- <sup>1515.</sup> deration against *Francis* the *French* King, as <sup>i Ex originali</sup> the common enemy: & *quia Rex Anglia non* <sup>subscript.</sup> *possit ex propriis Subditis tantum equitum nu-* <sup>card. Sedu-</sup> *merum congerere*, the King of *England* could <sup>nensi de dat.</sup> not furnish such a quantity of Horse of his own <sup>1516.</sup> <sup>k Ex tract.</sup>

*Callis.* anno 1521. <sup>l Ex tract. orig. subscript. manth</sup> *Margar.* *Regent*, 24. August. 1521. <sup>Card. Ebor. &</sup> <sup>Sub:</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Ex tract.  
Windsor. 1522.

<sup>b</sup> Ex tract.  
Cambrens.  
1529.

<sup>c</sup> Ex tract.  
ultrajectensi.

<sup>d</sup> Ex tract. de  
anno 1543.

Ex originali  
dat. ultimo

Janu. 1547.

<sup>e</sup> Ex instrutt.  
Rich. Morison

Edward 6.

<sup>f</sup> Ex litera  
Ducis Somers.

Magist. Pag.  
1549.

<sup>g</sup> Ex contract.  
Matrimoniali

1554.

<sup>h</sup> Ex tract.  
Matr. 1559.

Queen Mary,

<sup>i</sup> Ex artic.  
subscript. à

Vidame de  
Chartres

1562.

Elizabeth.

<sup>k</sup> Ex foder.  
Trecensi. 1564.

<sup>l</sup> Ex tract.  
Elesensi.

Subjects, as was mentioned in the contract, the Emperour giveth leave that he levy them in any his Dominions in Germany. And the Pope in furtherance of this intendment interdicteth the French territories, calleth in aide *Brachii Secularis*, of the Secular power, <sup>a</sup> those two Princes; appointeth the Emperour *Protektorem & advocatum Ecclesia*, the Churches Advocate and Protectour; & stileth their Attempt *sancta expeditio*, an holy expedition. <sup>b</sup> And this is by the Treaty at Windsor the next year confirmed and explained. Renewing in the years <sup>c</sup> 21. 35. and 38. the association, and bond of mutuall aide with the same Princes, and against the French King, if he brake not off his Amity with the Turk.

And although <sup>d</sup> Edward the 6. in the first year of his Reign made the Contract between the Crown of England and the house of Burgundy perpetuall; <sup>e</sup> yet forbore he to aide the Emperour in the wars of France, disabled (as he pretended) by reason of the Poverty the troubles of Scotland had drawn upon him; <sup>f</sup> And therefore offered the Town of Bullen to the Imperiall protection.

During the Reign of Queen Mary, there was no other but that <sup>g</sup> of Marriage, Aide and Entercourse with the Emperor, Spain and Burgundy; <sup>h</sup> and besides that tripartite bond at Cambray of Amity and Neutrality.

Our late Renowned Mistris entertained with the Prince of Conde <sup>i</sup> about New-haven, and <sup>k</sup> with Charles the 9. 1564. & at <sup>l</sup> Bloys 1572. with the King of Navarre before the accession of the Crown of France to him, and after Britain, and lastly by the Duke of Bullen

in 96. And with the States of the *Nether-lands* in the yeares 85. <sup>b</sup> and 98. divers Treaties of Amity, Confederation and Assistance.

<sup>a</sup> *Ex tracti Londin.*

1596.

<sup>b</sup> *Ex tracti.*

*cum ordin.*

*Belgia de*

*annis 1585.*

*& 1598.*

Confederate of most benefit to England.

By all these passages, (being all that well either our Story or *Records* can discover) it appeareth manifest the Kings of *England* never to have undertaken, or fortunately entertained any Forreign Enterprize without a party and confederate. Amongst which by situation, those of best advantage to us have been the Dukes of *Britain*, Lords of the *Netherlands*, the City of *Genoa*, the kings of *Portugall* and *Spain*, & the Empire, since knit into the house of *Burgundy*.

As for the remote and in-land Princes of *Germany*, the Kings of *Denmark*, *Poland* and *Sweden*, (so farre removed) I have seldome observed that this *Crown* hath with them contracted any League of Assistance or Confederacy, but of Amity and Entercourse onely.

Princes whose Confederation are of least benefit.

It remaineth to observe a little, what were the reasons that first induced, and then preserved the Affection and Alliances of these severall Nations respectively to this *Crown*. The assistance we had of the State of *Genoa* was their Pensions and Traffique here. All which time by equality of Neighbourhood they stood of themselves without any jealousy of Surprize. But as soon as *Vicinum Incendium*, the fire began in *Mitlain*, they put themselves into the protection of *Spain*, foreseeing how dangerous it would be for a weak State to stand *Neutrall*, according to *Aristhenus* counsell to the *Atolians*, *Quid aliud quam nusquam gratia stabili prada victoris erimus?* What else will become

Bonds of Confederation cannot be the same they were before. As with the State of *Genoa*.

*Livy Dec. 4.*

of

*in Relatiōe  
de Statu Ge-  
noe an. 1595.*

Navarre.  
Britain.

Burgundie.

of us, being in firm friendship with neither side, then to be made a prey to the Conquerour? Since which time *Spain* by estating *Doria*, *Grimaldi*, and the *Spinellos*, chief Families of that City, with great Patrimonies in *Naples*, retaining their Gallies in his perpetuall service and salary, the Inhabitants of all sorts in beneficiall Trade, and (no lesse in Policy to ingage that City, then to supply his own Wants) continually owing the wealthiest Citizens such vast summes of money, as the Interest of late exceeded <sup>a</sup> 25. Millions; hee hath tyed it more sure to the *Spanish* party, then if it were commanded by a *Cittadell*; so that it must ever now follow the faction and fortune of that Crown.

*Navarre* and *Britain* (while States of themselves) were so long firm to our Confederacy, as they were tyed with the bond of their own Calamity, occasioned by that power, which incorporating lately the one by Descent, the other by Contract, is by that Union and return of all the *Appennagii*, more potent now then ever it hath been under the House of *Capet*.

*Burgundie* was so long our friend, as either they were enriched by Staple of our Commodities, or had protection of our Swords against *France*, who not only claimed Sovereignty over most, but a proprietary interest in part; and therefore had reason to give aide and Armes to such a Confederate as did by a diverse war secure, and by particular Immunities enrich that State. But now growing into *Spain*, they need no such assurance in the one; and we almost undone by their draping of our wooll, (which is happily called home,) not able to return them the benefit of the other, cannot pre-  
sume



sume upon any such assurance of their aide as heretofore.

*Spain* may seem to give us the best hope of a *Spain*, fast Confederate for 2. respects. *First*, for that he is absolute, and that we be equally devoid of demand, neither having against the other any Titles. *Next*, for that the entercourse of Trade is more reciprocall between us then *France*, and our Amity founded upon long love and old blood. To this may be made a two-fold answer, from the change of their Dispositions: *First*, for that they never assist any now, but to make themselves Master of their State. Thus ended they the strife between the Competitors of *Portugall*. And when they were called into *Naples* by the *Queen* against the *French*, they combined with her Adversary, and divided the Kingdome. And after upon the River of *Garrillon*, under their Leader *Gonsalves*, taking an advantage, they defeated the whole Army of the *French*, holding ever since that entire Kingdome themselves. For *Spain* will admit neither Equallity nor Fellowship, since upon Union of so many Kingdomes, and famous Discoveries, they begun to affect a fifth *Monarchie*. The other; that the late *hostilitie* between them and us hath drawn so much blood, as all formes of ancient Amity are quite washt away: and as *Paterculus* a saith of *Carthage* to *Rome*, so may a *Paterculus* we of *Spain* to *England*, *Adeo odium Certaminibus ortum ultra metam durat, ut ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante invisum esse desinet quam esse desit*: The hatred begot by former quarrels doth endure so lastingly, that the very conquered party cannot forget it; & in such a case the very places must cease to be, before

fore the hatred and envy towards it can cease.

Dangers in  
Confederacy  
by diversity  
of Ends.

Examples,  
that ends  
served, Con-  
federates  
quit all  
bonds of  
Combination  
a *Matth Paris*  
1242.

b *Rot. Parl.*  
anno 29. E. 3.  
p. 6.

BESIDES these locall considerations, there will  
2. other Dangers now fall out from any Con-  
tract of mutuall aide: The one from diversity of  
*Intention*, and the other of *Religion*. In the one,  
when either the Confederate hath safely attain-  
ed his own secret End, (whatsoever he pretend-  
eth in the entrance,) he leaveth the other to  
work out his own designs. Thus was *Hen. 3.*  
served, called over by the Earls of *Tholouse*  
and *March*; they in the mean time having  
made their Peace with *France*: a *Et expertus*  
*am infidem, imo perfidiam Pictavensium, tur-*  
*piter recessit, & festinans non pepercit Calca-*  
*ribus*, in tomuch that having found the treache-  
ry and perfidiousness of the *Poictovins*, he was  
forced dishonourably to retreat, and for haste  
to spurre away; the perill the poore King was  
left in being so great. He was handled like to  
this by *Pope Alexander* the fourth, who having  
drawn him into the warres of *Apulia* against  
*Manfred*, in the end, depauperato Regno  
*Anglia*, & undique bonis suis spoliato, his  
Kingdome of *England* being impoverished,  
and wholly despoiled of its Goods, left him  
to his own shift. The King of *Navarre* calling  
in the aide of *Edward 3.* b against *France*, and  
appointing the Isle of *Gersey* the Rendezvous of  
their forces, revolteth to the *French*, after  
he had by countenance of that preparation  
wrought his Peace. *Maximilian* the Empe-  
rour to induce *Henry 8.* not onely contracteth  
to aid him in person to recover the Crown of  
*France*, & pro tyrannico Rege repellendo, and  
to

to remove the tyrannicall King, (they are the words of the League;) but conferreth upon him in the same *Coronam Imperialem & Imperium Romanum*, the Imperiall Crown and the Roman Empire in reversion; and estateth the Dutchie of Millain after recovery upon his person, & *suorum naturalium masculini sexus heredum, modo feodorum Imperialium*, and his heires male lawfully begotten, to hold in Fee of the Empire: yet in the close left the King to his own fortune, his turn for Millain and Verona served. Charles the fifth when by the incursion of the French he saw his portion in Italy distressed, in safety whereof consisted the whole Pulse of the Spanish, (as he used himself to say,) for it supplied his Army with great Levies, and was fitly seated for a fifth Monarchy; he then ingaged Hen. 8. in the wars of France, and bound himself (as Bourbon his Confederate) that he would assist him to the full Conquest of that Kingdome, and the other should become Homager to Hen. 8. as to his Sovereign. But after that Bourbon had advanced his Army and distressed the French King, he in his answer to Master Pace the Kings Ambassador refused that assurance of duty, and gave a just suspicion, that he by help of his Party intended to usurp upon that State himself, which the Emperour never meant to the King of England; least by such footing in France, he might grow so great Suspecting as to give law to his neighbours. And to fall off that an Allie upon such grounds hath ever been excusable, may grow too howsoever the bonds of Alliance were. Thus great, dissolved Hen. 8. as often change his hand of help, veth alliance as either Princes of Spain & France got ground of the other. And the Spaniard now, to keep the

Liv. lib. 34.

States in *Italie* disunited, compoundeth differences at his pleasure, or taketh part with the weaker, not suffering any, though his own dependant, to grow too strong: which was lately seen in patronizing the *D. of Mantua* against *Savoy*, according to the Rule of *Quinctus* in *Livy*, *Non tantum interest Aetolorum opes minui*, it doth not stand us so much in hand to break the strength of the *Aetolians*, (yet they were enemies,) *quantum, non supra modum Philip-pum crescere*, as it doth to see that *Philip* grow not too potent, who was their friend.

The difference in *Religion* may bring likewise a twofold danger. The one with our Confederates, the other with the Subjects of this Crown.

For whensoever we shall attempt upon a *Catholick Prince*, as *France*, where we have the fairest pretences, for with any other we are like to have no question; then is all Contract of mutuall aide left to the election of our

Danger  
by dif-  
ference  
in Reli-  
gion, in  
respect  
of the

Confederates, who

May  
break  
by dis-  
pensa-  
tion,  
though  
both  
Catho-  
licks.

Confederate, who may with all eagerness procure from the See of *Rome* a discharge of all Contracts, although they were by Oath. For if in Leagues where either party have been *Catholicks*, as that between *Edward 3.* and *John King of France*, & that between *John of Gaunt* and the King of *Castile*; they ever out of such suspect inserted this Clause, That neither side should procure *dispensationem, &c.* either *per Ecclesiam Romanam, vel per aliquam aliam*, a Dispensation either

either by the Church of Rome, or any other way, to do *contra formam Tractatus*, contrary to the form of Agreement: how much more must their *jealousie* be to us? And therefore in a Consultation in Henry the 8<sup>th</sup>. time, <sup>a</sup> whether with best security <sup>a Ex originali in manu Domini Cromwell.</sup> we should confederate with France or Spain, it was resolved that either of them may slip off their advantage by colour of our Separation from the Church of Rome, if there be no better hold in their Honesties then in their Bonds. For it will be held not onely worthy dispensation, but merit to break all Leagues with the enemies of that Church, by the Doctrine of that See; which teacheth all Contracts with any *Catholick* Prince to be *instanti* dissolved, because we are by them ranked in the list of Hereticks: which holds proportion with the Rule and Direction that *Urban* the sixth sent by <sup>b</sup> Bull to *Wenceslaus* King of *Bohemia*, <sup>b Ex Bulla ceslaus King of Bohemia, origin. sub sigillo Urbani</sup> and *Charles* then Emperor, (before the Council of *Constance*,) declaring all Confederations, Leagues and Con-

Danger  
by difference  
in Religion, in  
respect  
of the

Confederates, who

ought  
to break  
out of  
the  
Rom.  
doctri-  
ne, one  
account-  
ed he-  
retick.

Doctrine of  
the See of  
Rome touch-  
ing leagues  
with Here-  
ticks.

6. an. pont. 4.



Danger  
by dif-  
ference  
in Reli-  
gion, in  
respect  
of the

Confederates, who

Ought  
to break  
out of  
the  
Rom,  
doctrine,  
one ac-  
counted  
heretick

Conventions to be *Lege Di-  
vina temeraria, illicita,*  
& *ipso jure nulla, etiam-  
si forent fide data firma-  
ta, aut Confirmatione Apo-  
stolica roborata*, to be by the  
Law of God invalid, void,  
and in law null, although  
confirmed by the pligh-  
ing of faith, nay though  
strengthened by confirma-  
tion Apostolicall, if the par-  
ties were *separata ab Unitate  
sanctæ Ecclesiæ*, separate from  
the Unity of Holy Church,  
when the league was made;  
or, *si postea sint effecti*, if  
they become so after. What  
assurance can there then be,  
either with *France*, who is  
received, by his *Rebenedi-  
ction*, into the Bosome of  
the *Church*, and his sonne  
made *Adoptivus Filius Ec-  
clesiæ*, an adopted Son of  
the Church; or against him  
with *Spain*, who being *Pro-  
tector* and *Champion* of that  
See *Apostolick*, submitteth  
himself (as he hath ever  
done) to the Popes pleasure  
and designe, and must not  
onely forsake, but aide a-  
gainst us in any warre we  
should there undertake?

Dange  
by dif-  
ference  
in Reli-  
gion, in  
respect  
of the

Be-

Besides it is considerable, how- Subjects obedi-  
 soever all sides of our own will dient to the  
 joyn in point of defence to a mu- Popes Cen-  
 tuall aide; whether they will so in sure a dange-  
 a forraign Invasion; (especially rous Parry.  
 when the party assailed shall be  
 of their own Religion.) For when  
 the Interdiction of the Pope could  
 draw against *John King of En-*  
*gland & Lewis the 12.* a side of a *Ex Eulogio*  
 their own Subjects, (as it did after *Hist.*  
 in the same Kingdome against  
*Hen. 3.* though all 3. conformable  
 in points of Religion to that See;)   
 how much more will it work with  
 the people devoted to their opini-  
 ons in a State divided from their  
 obedience? For amongst us the  
 Subjects, *Catholick Church* hath many *Ie-*  
*suites* to raise Faction, and divert  
 people from duty; the *Recusants*  
 many, and *Malecontents* not  
 few; all which with warre will  
 discover themselves, but now by  
 this happy calm unassured of assi-  
 stance, lock up their riches in secu-  
 rity, & their hearts in silence. And  
 therefore by any enterprize, it is  
 not with the rule of *Seneca* safe,  
*concutere felicem statum.* For  
 provoking of some adversary in  
 respect of Papall protection, they  
 pick advantage to ground a quar-  
 rel of Religion: & then the *sancta*  
*Expedition*, the holy expedition a-  
 gainst *Lewis*, will be made *Bellum*  
*Sacrum*, a holy Warre against us.

Danger  
 by dif-  
 ference  
 in Reli-  
 gion, in  
 respect  
 of the

But admitting no lesse then in former times an easiness to attempt; it is not a meditation unnecessary to think in generall of the dangers and impossibilities to *retain*. For first we must more then transgresse *Limites quos posuerunt Patres*, the Bounds which our Fathers owned;

*Et penitus toto d'visos orbe Britannos,*

And Britans from the world wholly divided; and relinquish that defence of Nature, wherewith she hath incircled, divided, and secured us from the whole world;

<sup>a</sup> *Festus A-*  
*mannus.*

(<sup>a</sup> *Te natura potens Peiago divisit ab omni Parte orbis, tuta ut semper ab hoste fores.*  
From all the Earth Nature hath parted thee  
With Seas, and set thee safe from Enemy.)

Danger of  
large Fron-  
tiers,

and commit our Frontiers (had we never so much upon the next Continent) to the protection of an Army, which besides the continuall Charge, if we give Ambitious and able Commanders, (as unable for our Interest we will not,) how ready shall it be in such a Leader, and backt, if he please, to give Law to his own countrey? For Trifles will be quarrels good enough for such as can make them good by Power; And whensoever means and Ambition leads any to trouble the State, he will be sure to colour his pretext with honest Titles. <sup>b</sup> *Alii, sicuti Iura populi defenderent; Pars, quo Senatus autoritas maxima foret, bonum publicum simulantes:* some declaring to maintain the rights of the People, others to uphold the authority of the Senate, all pretending to act for the publick good. Hence was it that *Augustus* <sup>c</sup> refused to add any more of the Barbarous Nations to the body of his Empire, which with great facility he might have done; <sup>d</sup> and to restrain that infinite and unsafe desire of

<sup>b</sup> *Salust. in*  
*Bello Catil.*

<sup>c</sup> *Suetonius*  
*in vita Au-*  
*gusti.*

<sup>d</sup> *Dion Cassius*

enlarging, left in Charge to his Successors that  
 especiall point of advice, *a coercendi intra Ter-<sup>a</sup> Tacitus.*  
*minos Imperii*, to keep the Empire within due  
 & fitting bounds. The like moderation from the  
 same ground was in the late *Queen*, who refused  
 the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, <sup>b</sup> so often <sup>b</sup> *Ex proposito.*  
 and earnestly offered to her, fore-seeing well, that *Statuum de*  
 as her State should grow more respective by ad- *anno 1585.*  
 dition of People, and augmentation of Territory;  
 so Factions and Discontents (a common acci-  
 dent in worldly affaires) would arise from super-  
 fluity. Besides, the State that may best admit in- What State  
 crease is that, unto which addition may be on may best ad-  
 every part indifferently. Such was the advantage mit addition.  
 of *Rome*, by being situate in the middest of *Eu-*  
*rope*: whereas we are thrust out of the world; to  
 which we have no other contiguity, then an un-  
 sure element of fluxible foundation, the Sea, sub-  
 ject to tempest, contrariety of wind, and more  
 commodious for a potent enemy to intercept, then  
 our selves to secure. For how large soever any  
 Kingdome is, all great directions move from one  
 place, commonly from one man, as the Heart in  
 the Body. It is therefore necessary that the seat  
 be so placed, that as well Intelligence as Dispatch  
 may safely passe with indifferency and assured  
 Speed: And those Forms are most quick and  
 easy in motion, whose extremes are allequally  
 distant from the Centre; for the more different  
 from the Circle, the more slow and hard. *Rome*  
 may sufficiently example this: For so long as the  
*Orbe* of that Empire so moved about her, all  
 things kept on their course with order, and ease;  
 but after the Seate was by *c Constantine* removed *c Zozimus in*  
 to an extremity of the Circle, it stood a while still, *vita Con-*  
 and in the end dissolved. For either through the *stantini,*  
 masse

a Velleius Pa-  
terc. de Ex-  
peditione Ca-  
saris.

b Bodin. de  
Repub. lib. 6.

c Ex orat.  
Demosth. ad  
Athenienses.

masse of Business, the limitedness of any mans sufficiency, or impossibility to consider all due Circumstances but in *re presenti*, there must fall out infinite defects in the directions. Or if none, either by reason of Distance they come too late, or if not, by reason of Remoteness, he who is to execute will be bolder with his Instructions then is fit for a Minister to be. How dangerous is it then by addition of Territories for our Master, a *Alterum pene Imperio nostro & suo quarenti Orbem*, whilst he is seeking to joyn another world, in a manner, to his and our Empire, to alter either the settled order of directions, or walls of our securitie. Besides, as in the Frames of Nature *Anima rationalis*, the rationall soul cannot *informare*, give life, sense, or discourse to the matter of an *Elephant* or a *Fly*; (or any other body disproportionable to a Form so qualified:) so is there as well a bound of amplitude and strictness wherein the soul of Government is comprised; b Between which extremes there are many degrees of Latitude, some approaching to the greatest (that nature seldome or never produceth) some to the least, and some to the mean; beyond which proportions respectively though some may have a will to effect, they never can have a power to attaine. And this we may see in the former accession of so much to us in *France*, which we could never either with Profit or Assurance retain, being gotten by Conquest, and but tacked to by Garrison, contrary to the nature of Hereditary *Monarchies*. For some Kingdomes (in which number this may be accounted) are of the same condition that *Demosthenes* c maketh the *Athenians*: *Non ea vestra ingenia sunt, ut ipsi aliis vi oppressis Imperia teneatis; sed in eo magna sunt*



*Sunt vires vestrae, ut alium potiri principatu prohibeatis, aut potitum exturbetis;* It is not your way, violently to oppress other States and seize the Government; but in this is your strength manifest, that you can hinder another from possessing the Government, or when he is possessed of it, throw him out again. Since then by *Situation* and *Power* we are the fittest, either to combine or keep severall the most potent and warlike Nations of the *West*, it is the best for *Safety*, and the most for *Honour*, to remain as we were, *Arbiters* of *Europe*, and so by *Neutralitie* sway still the Ballance of our mightiest Neighbours: which by holding of our hands, and onely looking on, we shall easily do, since *Spain* and *France* hang so indifferently, that a little weight will cast the Beam; imploying ours, as *Claudius* did his Forces in a *Germanie*, *ut subsidio victis, Victoribus* a *Tacitus & Dion Cassius*, *terrori essent, ne forte elati Pacem turbarent*, to assist the Conquered party, and to over-awe the Victor, lest he should be puffed up with pride, and disturb our peace. Thus did *Hen. 8.* with the *French* and *Spanish* Princes, using as his *Motto* of Honour and Power this, *Cui adhæreo præest*, He rules whom I stick to. And the late *Queen* studied rather how to guard her Allies, then to inlarge her Dominions, multiplying her Leagues more by giving then receiving gratuities; winking at her own wrongs, rather then willing to revenge. And (as the great Mistris of the world once) did what rather became her Greatness, then what severity of Armes required. Hence were her Seas for the most part freed from Pirates, and her Land here cleared of Enemies. For according to *Micipsae's* counsell to *Jugurth*, *Non exercitus, neque Thesauro præsidia Regi*

Safetie in  
Neutralitie.

Honour attained by  
Neutrality,  
in being the  
Arbiter of all  
differences  
between the  
mightiest  
Neighbours.  
a Froissard.  
b Ex Regist.  
& libris Tra-  
statum.

c Ex Demost.  
& Philip.

*Regni sunt*; Neither Armyes nor Treasure are the safety of a Kingdome: but such Allies as neither Armes constrain, nor monyes purchase, *sed officio & fide pariuntur*. And since by fortune of the times succeeding, this State hath grown more upon Opinion then Deed, and that we know *Magis fama quam vi stare res nostras*, that our affairs stand rather by Fame then Force; it is most safe, neither to discover weakness, nor hazzard losse by any attempt. Besides, standing as we do no waies obnoxious by Site to any of our neighbours, they will alwaies be ready to referre the judgement & order of their differences to us. As the a *Brabanters* and *Hennowayes* to the Arbitrement of *Edward the third*: and b *Charles the fifth* and *Francis the French King* the decision of their quarrel to *Henry the eighth*. Thus every part shall woe us, all Princes by their Oratours shall resort unto us, as to the Common Consistorie of judgement in their debates, and thereby add more to our Reputation then any power of our own. For as well in States as in Persons, Suitours are an infallible token of Greatness; which *Demosthenes* c told the *Athenians* they had lost, since none resorted to their *Curia* or *Pratorium*. By this way shall we gain the Seat of Honour, Riches, and Safety; and in all other but endlesse Expence, Trouble and Danger.

Robert Cotton Bruceus.

THE  
F R E N C H  
C H A R I T Y :

W R I T T E N

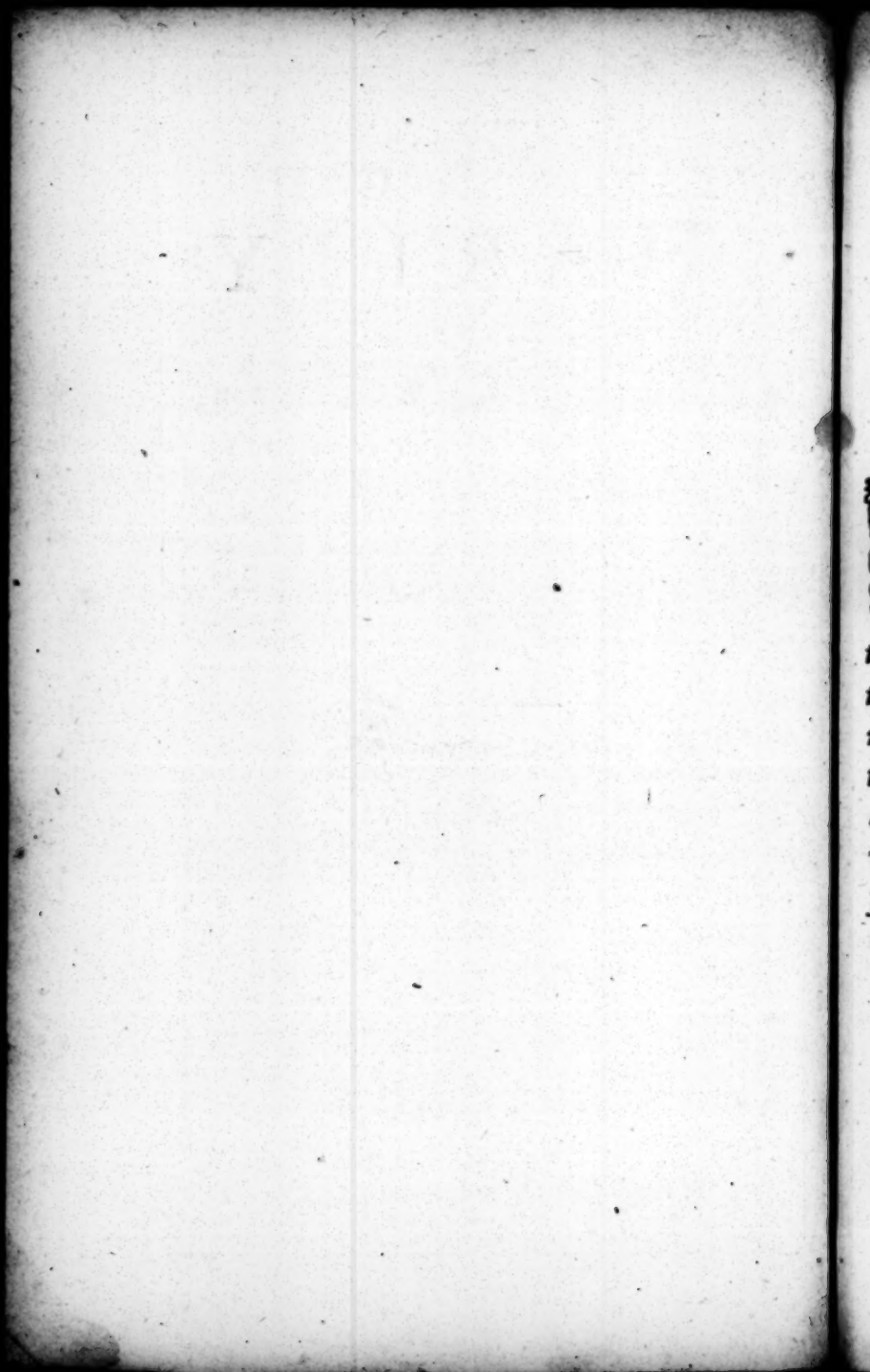
In *French* by an *English* Gentleman,  
upon occasion of Prince *Harcourt's*  
coming into *ENGLAND*;

*And translated into English by F. S. J. E.*



L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Shears*, at the Bible in  
*S. Paul's Church-yard*, Anno 1655.





## THE FRENCH CHARITY.

**A**lthough we see that naturall causes produce sometimes contrary effects, that the Sun which draws up the Clouds can also scatter them, that the same Wind both lights and blow's out the taper, that Vipers serve for wholesome meditations, and Scorpions carry about them an Antidote to their own poison: it is not so neverthelesse in morall and politick affairs, wherein that which is once ill, is alwayes accounted such; from whence is begot in us that quality which we call Experience, whereby wise men are accustomed to judge of present and future actions by those that are past: Which is the foundation whereupon all Monarchies and Republicks have established the Maxims of their subsistence, and found out both what they ought to follow and what to avoid.



## THE FRENCH

*The Charity which France hath testified to pacify our differences is so great that it is become incredible, so unseasonable that it is suspected, and so contrary to their former proceedings that it is quite otherwayes understood. Philosophers say, we cannot passe from one extremity to another without some mean; I cannot see by what steps they are come to this perfect goodness, nor what good Genius can have made them in an instant so good friends of such dangerous neighbours to us. I will passe my censure upon nothing, yet let me have the liberty to judge of all. I find so great a wonder in this change, that I find a conflict in my self to believe it. It is no common marvell, that those who have for so long a time beheld all Europe in a flame, and could not be moved by the blood and destruction of so many people to cast thereon one drop of water, should now have their bowells so tender as to compassionate the dissensions arising in a corner of the world which hath alwayes bin fatall to them; That those who have made it their chiefest interest to divide us, should now make it their glory to reunite us; That those who place their rest in our troubles, should now apply their cares for our repose; and that*  
*after*

after they have cast us down headlong, they should reach us a plank for to come ashore. Let the wise Reader here (whilst I determine nothing) allow me at least a little distrust; it is the Mother of Safety. The Trojans, who could not be overcome by Armes, perish't by a pledge of peace. All the French civilityes are faire and good; but in the bottome

Quicquid id est, timeo Gallos, & dona ferentes.

Let us see what reasons can oblige them to interest themselves so passionately in our agreement. Is it Religion? surely no; for that which they professe is contrary to that of this Kingdome; and the little Charity they have for their own, ought not to perswade us that they have much for ours. Is it for the inclination they have to peace? surely no; for if they esteemed it a benefit, they would seek it first for themselves. It is perhaps for an acknowledgement of their obligations to us in the late warres, and for the assistance we gave to those of Rochel. Is this would be truly Christian indeed, to render us good for evill. They will say that they are the bands of blood and parentage, which bind them to the Queen; and yet they have let the Mother beg her subsistence

## THE FRENCH

*stence and retreat among strangers, which she could not find with them, and having beheld her without pitty and succour in her greatest extremities, they advise to offer her a remedy upon the declining of her ill. But if this be the reason of their admittance, I conceive them no lawfull nor indifferent Mediators, since they are so much concern'd in one of the parties. They will whisper us in the eare, that the designe is to pacify us, and to ingage us in a league with them against the Spaniard; although at the same time they designe Ambassadors for Munster to endeavour a peace with him. O, we should wrong them very much to believe it, though they might seem in an humour to desire it of us; They are too gallant spirited to pretend it, they know that we are better advised then to serve them to pull their Chesnut out of the fire; that a body recovering health from a long sicknesse ought not to expose it self to a violent agitation; that the State will find it self loaden with debts, and the Subject exhausted by Contributions; that we ought to preferre the evident profit of traffick before the uncertain vanity of a conquest; that Jealousies being not yet removed, nor amulations suppress'd, all kind of arming would be suspected*

by

by the State, fearing least some under pretense of a forrain warre might study private revenge, or the oppression of the publick liberty; & that in the end it will be our gain to see them deal with Spain, and to make our advantage of their troubles, or not to meddle at all with them, unlesse by adding secretly (according to the revolution of affairs) a little weight to them that shall be found the lighter. If then it be none of these motives, it remains that it must be either Generosity, or deceit. O Generosity (that hast so long since withdrawn thy self to heaven, there to keep company with the faire Astræa, or rather, who wer't buried in France in the Sepulchre of Monsieur Gonin) is it possible that thou shouldst be risen again, or that France should have recall'd thee with her exiles since the death of her King; and that the first labour she should put thee to should be in favour of England, against whom but few dayes since she shewed such violent resentments, for an offence received by a pretended violation of the treaties which had past between us? Truly if it be she, we must reverence her with extraordinary respects; but before we give her the Honours due unto her, we must know her, for feare of Idolatry in  
H 4                      adoring

## THE FRENCH

adoring her masque for her self, or embracing a cloud in stead of a Goddesse. Let us give a thrust with our launce into the Trojan horse, to see if there be no ambush within.

In walking lately with some French Gentlemen (as this nation is free enough of their discourse) a word escaped from one of the company without making reflexion (as I think) of what Countrey I was, That amongst their Prophets there was one which said, That the Conquest of England was promised to their young King. This thought cast into the aire though inconsiderately, seemed to me very considerable; and having given me an occasion to reflect upon all things both past and present, it served me as a light to guide me in the obscurity of this Labyrinth, upon which before I had reasoned but superficially. From thence being returned to my lodging, I opened accidentally a book of Monsieur de Rohan, intituled The interest of the Princes of Christendome, and I fell presently upon a passage where he said, That one of the surest wayes to make ones self Master of a State, is to interpose and make himself arbiter of its differences. I had no need of any other Oedipus to expound to me the riddle of the Prophecy, these first motives of suspicion  
having



having cast me into more profound thoughts, I  
revolved in my mind how France had managed  
the whole business, both before & since the begin-  
ning of our troubles, and weighed all the cir-  
cumstances of this Ambassage. Why such a  
solemn Ambassage in a time when all things  
seem most exasperated and furthest from ac-  
commodation? Why then not sooner, while dif-  
ferences were not yet irreconcilable between  
the two parties? Why such a warlike Prince,  
who is not experienced in the affaires of this  
Kingdome, to manage a negotiation of a peace  
the most nice and intricate that the world at  
his time affords? Why at the same time levying  
of Souldiers in Normandy, when all the other  
troops are in their quarters? Why therefore  
should they supply one of the parties with mony,  
when they come to act the persons of media-  
tors; if not to cast wood and oyle into the flame?  
Why at the same time an Agent in Scotland, who  
propounds to them openly a League with France?  
Why begin they onely to turn their cares upon  
England, when they are upon the point of con-  
cluding a peace with Spain? May not we  
well judge that it is to prepare themselves for  
new employment? since they themselves con-  
fesse that their boiling and unquiet temper hath  
need

## THE FRENCH

need of continuall exercise, and that the onely means to prevent troubles at home, is continually to furnish them with matter wherupon to evacuate their choler abroad. Why doth onely France afford us this so suddain and unexpected Charity, after all the fresh wounds which bleed yet among them because of the expulsion of the Capuchins, after the continuall cares she hath taken for so many years to lay the foundation of our troubles by the secret negotiations of the Marquis of Blainville, by the intrigues of the Cardinal of Richelieu with Buckingham, by the long plots in Scotland, and by the open solicitations of the Marquis de la Fert? by all which they sometimes incited the Kings ministers to make him independent and absolute, offering to that purpose their assistance, and anon they solicited the States to shake off the yoke of servitude, finally they transformed themselves into a thousand different shapes, till having plunged us deep enough in the gulf, they then call back their Ambassadors, to give in appearance some satisfaction to the King, but in truth because his commission was expired. May not we well conclude from this, that they will now reape the fruits they have so carefully sown and cultivated amongst us.

From

From these considerations falling insensibly on  
those of England, what need (said I in my  
self) have we of the intermeddling of stran-  
gers? are they more versed in our interests than  
our selves? can they afford more expedients?  
are they more sensible of our miseries than those  
that suffer them? Is it to exhort us, or to  
constrain us? the first is superfluous; the se-  
cond dangerous. It must needs be that either in  
one case they think to go beyond us in wit, or  
the other to master us by force. If peace be  
profitable for us, have we any need either of a  
master to make us know our advantage, or of  
an Oratour to persuade us to it? If it be hurt-  
ful to us, we ought to give them thanks for  
their advice, but follow that which is better. If  
peace be feasible, why should we leave the  
care of it to others? if impossible, why loose  
time in making vain propositions? why should  
we acquaint strong and ambitious neighbours,  
and trust the Philistins with the secret of our  
weakness? Must England, that hath in times past  
compelled France to purchase peace, be now con-  
strained to beg it of her? that one of the most  
considerable and flourishing Monarchies of the  
world should serve for matter of sport to the  
vanity of the French, and be the first upon  
whom

## THE FRENCH CHARITY.

*whom they exercise the Title they give themselves of being Arbiters of Christendome? What Counsel then shall we follow in this encounter? That of good and wise Nature, who having separated us from all other Nations by a vast and deep trench, silently teacheth us, that the principle of our subsistence is in our selves, and that we ought not to submit our government to the arbitrement of others.*

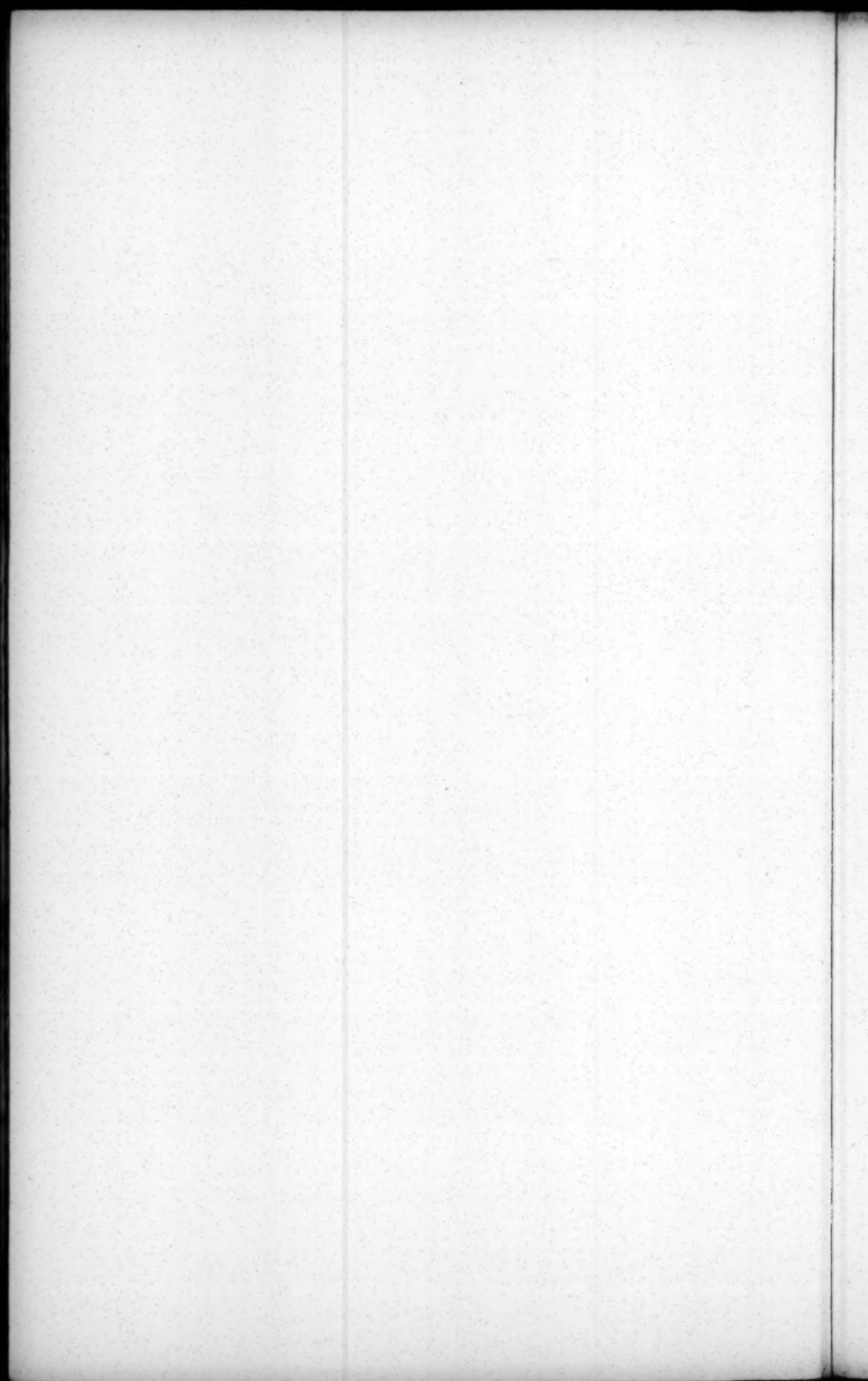
---

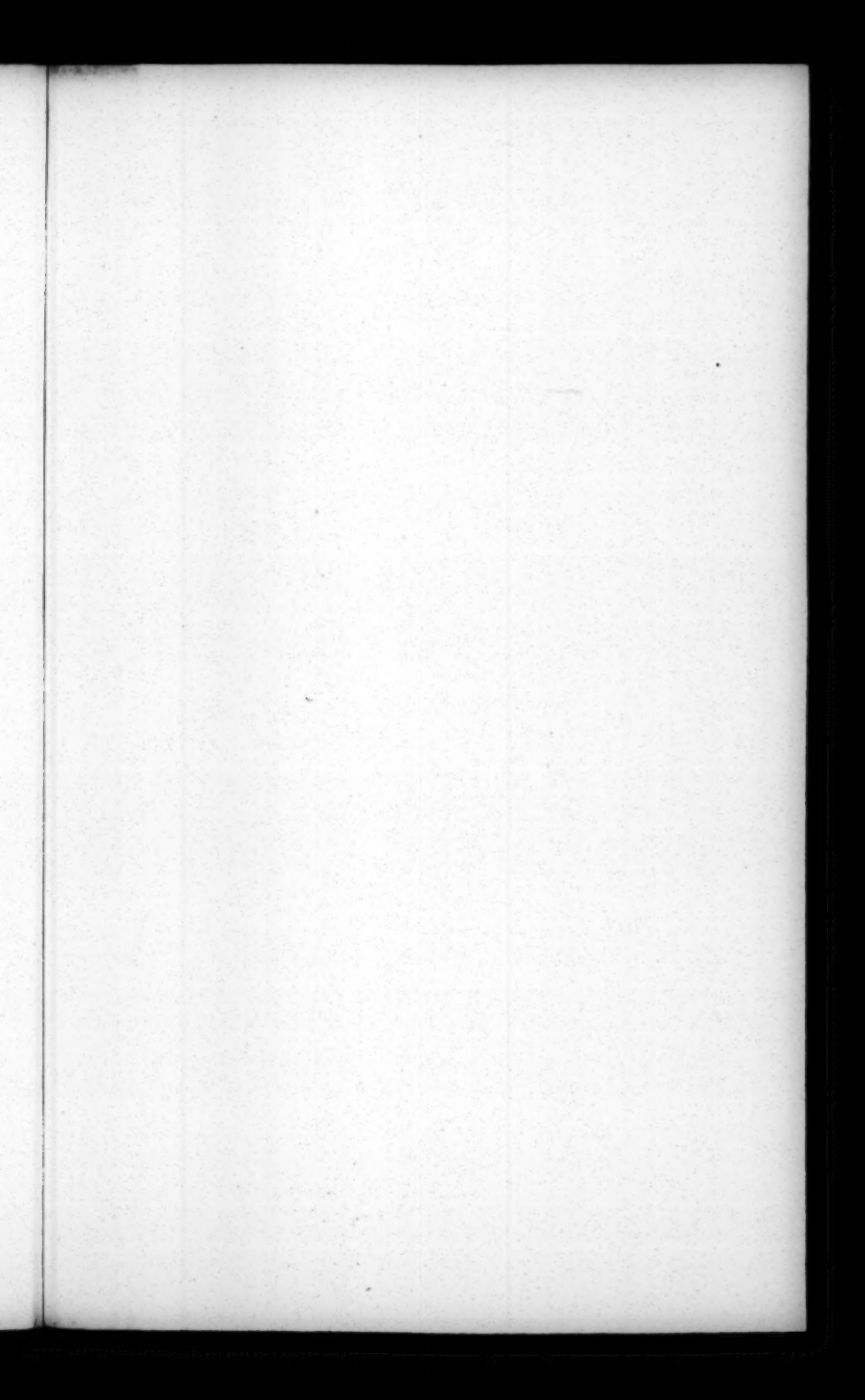
FINIS.

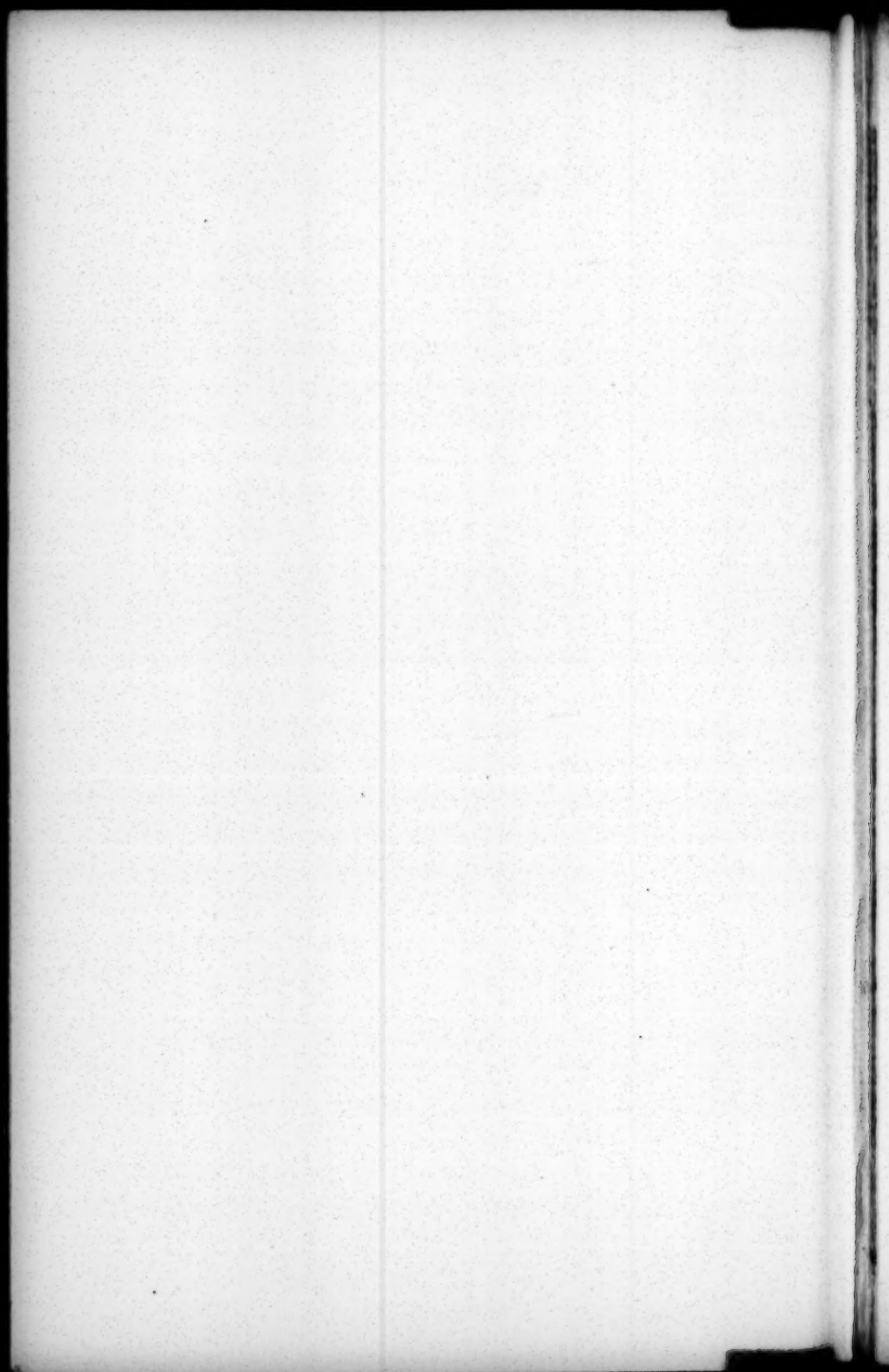
---

me-  
ae?  
en-  
who  
by a  
hat  
ves,  
rn-









F172454

C6505

